

# PEACE NEWS

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**For 'Defence': £13!**



£13 a head . . . a poll tax on every man, woman and child in the land . . . such is this year's bill for "defence." As Fenner Brockway points out in his article on this page, interest alone on the colossal sum of £580,000,000 to be spent will amount to £32,000,000 a year—to be paid by the workers for their own destruction!

## Conferences Urged To Stop Drift To War

"IN order to prevent the collapse of the world into war and anarchy the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom makes a solemn appeal to the governments which are willing to discuss world organization for peace on the basis of the recognition of justice, freedom, and human rights for their peoples, to meet together in conference without delay."

At a time when there is great danger of attempts to stop the drift to war without providing the basis for real peace, this appeal has been sent to several governments by the Women's International League.

### WORKING-CLASS ACTION

Another proposal for an international congress is now being considered by working-class organizations. It is contained in a "call to World Workers" issued by James Maxton and Fenner Brockway, chairman and secretary of the Independent Labour Party, which proposes an international congress of representatives of the working-class movement to plan working-class action to

- Resist war;
- Prevent the extension of fascism;
- Assist the colonial workers' struggles in the empires;
- Assist the workers' struggle in the fascist countries; and
- Assist the refugees

# WORKERS WILL HAVE TO FOOT THE ARMS BILL

IN little more than a fortnight the Chancellor of the Exchequer will open his Budget, in which the feature of greatest interest will be the astronomical amount to be found for armaments. The Estimates already issued have prepared us for an expenditure of £580,000,000; the total cost of the whole "rearmament programme" originally estimated at £1,500,000,000, will now soar to a height that seems limitless.

Such figures, however, mean little to most of us for, as figures, they are unrelated to our own lives. In the following article (with which neither the Peace Pledge Union nor *Peace News* must be assumed to be in entire agreement) Fenner Brockway shows what this vast expenditure means when reduced to everyday terms, and that to pay for it the workers' standard of life will be attacked.

THE expenditure upon war preparations has become so titanic that except for financiers who are accustomed to dealing in hundreds of millions of pounds, it is meaningless.

To the man or woman who has to live on £3 a week, what is the significance of two hundred millions or two thousand millions? The brain refuses to register either in concrete terms.

The housewife who must carefully calculate her pennies in her weekly budget will exclaim "whew!" helplessly when either figure is mentioned. One may calculate how many drops there are in a tea-pot, but when it comes to a lake or the ocean the task seems equally futile.

### What it Means

But let us try to interpret this colossal expenditure on armaments in some understandable terms. The authorized expenditure upon the army, navy and air force during the coming year stands at the moment at £580,000,000. I say at the moment, because no-one knows what increases will be authorized before the end of the year: some new crisis—and Sir John Simon will ask for another fifty millions as easily as we would ask for another slice of bread and butter.

But let us take the 580 millions. What does it mean in the more limited terms which our minds can grasp?

Well, the next time you go into the street look at the men and women and children you meet. In your mind's eye attach a label on each of their backs: £13. That is the average amount which each one of them is paying for the armed forces this year!

### £1,000 a Minute

Think of all the people in your village or town, the hundreds of thousands in the big cities, the millions of people in London, the men and women at their jobs, the women at home, the children at school, the infants too young to go to school. Attach the label of £13 to each one of them. The total of all those £13's is the figure which Britain is

spending on the army, navy and air force this year.

Let us try to put it realistically another way. Stop reading this article and watch the clock or your watch for thirty seconds . . . Done it? During those thirty seconds Britain has expended over £500 on the armed forces! (to be exact, £540).

The most amazing thing is the complacency with which the members of the Government, MP's, financiers, captains of industry, newspaper editors and the public generally contemplate this expenditure. Apparently the nation can take it in its stride without any cause for anxiety.

Yet, when I was in the House of Commons, the financiers told us in 1931 that the nation would go bankrupt because debt on the Unemployment Insurance Fund stood at £120,000,000!

### Danger of Collapse

That debt involved an annual interest payment of only a hundredth part of this year's expenditure upon the army, navy and air force.

But the heads of the Bank of England hurried from the City of London to distant Lossiemouth in the north of Scotland to insist to the Prime Minister that unless expenditure were reduced at once the nation's finances would collapse; the Prime Minister himself assured us that unless expenditure upon the unemployed and the social services were immediately reduced the British pound note would be reduced to the value of a German mark during its inflationary period; and the Chancellor of the Exchequer made millions of voters panic-stricken by warning them that their Post Office and other savings would become worthless!

### A Hundred to One

Apparently the nation can spend £100 upon armaments and everything proceeds swimmingly; but let it spend £1 on the unemployed and we are faced with bankruptcy. Such is the relative cost of the Unemployment Insurance debt in 1931 and the expenditure upon the armed forces in 1939.

Strangest of all is the expectation that the Government will not increase taxation to any marked degree in order to meet this expenditure amounts to one-and-a-half-times income tax will not be increased at all in the forthcoming budget—and this despite the fact that this year's increased expenditure on the armed forces over last year's expenditure amounts to one-on-a-half times the total spent on arms only five years ago! Instead of paying out of income the Government is going to meet the cost by borrowing—the very thing which the financiers said must not be done in the case of the unemployed in 1931. A debt of £800,000,000 is to be piled up, and there is no prospect that it will ever be paid. Instead, year by year,

By

**Fenner Brockway**

Mr. A. Fenner Brockway, Secretary of the Independent Labour Party and Editor of the "New Leader," was sentenced to various terms of imprisonment during the War under DORA and the Military Service Act. He was Labour MP for East Leyton from 1929 to 1931, and is the author of publications on socialism, India, prison conditions, the arms traffic, &c.



we shall pay interest on it to the financiers.

Do you get what this means? It means the growth of a rentier class in the community for whom we and all who follow us will work to pay each year the interest on the loan with our indebtedness to it remaining unaltered. The number of those who draw unearned income from the national income will increase and all who live by their labour will have to work harder or receive less in order to pay their due. Class division and exploitation will be intensified.

### "Labour Conscription"

The debt on the war preparations imposes on the nation a form of labour conscription—a conscription imposed on those who work, whether by hand or brain, for those who live by interest without working and who now have Government security behind this profitable debt of £800,000,000 in perpetuity.

At four percent, the interest payable annually will be £32,000,000. The working population of the nation will be compelled to pay that vast sum out of their labour to those who hold the Government's loan.

This is one aspect of a conscription which is permanent and of which military conscription, our conscription for "national service" for war, is only an extension.

### Abundance For All

It is the clashing interests of the rentier class and other sections of the possessing class of the different Powers which cause the danger of war. They want Empires to provide spheres for the investment of their surplus capital, to enable them to get raw materials for their profit-giving industries, and to open up markets for the profit-yielding sale of their goods. In peace-time they

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# Personal Aggressiveness, War and Scientific Bunk

## AN INVESTIGATION THAT MISSED THE MARK

By ANDREW STEWART

WHEN the visitor to Edinburgh strays, unwarned, from his ecstatic contemplation of Princes Street to its unsavoury hinterland of dark and stinking slums, he suffers a shock that almost completely erases the memory of the pleasurable emotions which overwhelmed him when he first set eye on the capital's magnificent thoroughfare.

It is some fifteen years since this disappointment was mine; and I have experienced something of the same disillusionment in reading what Messrs. E. F. M. Durbin and John Bowlby call the "conclusion" of their essay, *Personal Aggressiveness and War*. They begin extraordinarily well, and then let the reader down badly.

In the course of thirty-nine closely-printed pages they present a theory of war based on the most up-to-date researches in anthropology and psychology. Having accomplished their purpose—"to examine the bearing of some recent biological and psychological work upon the theories of the cause of war"—they state:

### Individual and Group

"Adults are just as cruel—or more so—just as aggressive, just as destructive as any group of animals or monkeys. The only difference in our view is one of psychological and intellectual mechanism. The causes of simple aggression—possessiveness, strangeness, frustration—are common to adults and simpler creatures.

"But a repressive discipline drives the simple aggression underground—to speak in metaphors—and it appears in disguised forms. These transformations are chiefly those of displacement and projection.

"These mechanisms have as their immediate motives the reduction of anxiety and the resolution of the conflicts of ambivalence and guilt. They result in the typical form of adult aggressiveness—aggressive personal relations of all kinds—but above all in group aggression; party conflict, civil war, wars of religion, and international war.

"The group life gives sanction to personal aggressiveness. The mobilisation of transformed aggression gives destructive power to groups. Aggression takes on its social form.

"And to justify it—to explain the group aggression to the outside world and to the group itself in terms that make it morally acceptable to the members of the group—great structures of intellectual reasoning—theories of history and religion and race—are built up. The impulses are rationalised. The hatred is justified."

Excellent! They go on:

"War occurs because fighting is a fundamental tendency in human beings—a form of behaviour called forth by certain simple situations in animals, children, human groups, and whole nations."

### Why Nations Fight

This is, they proceed, "a fundamentally pluralistic theory of international war. If the theory is true then it follows that nations can only fight because they are able to release the explosive stores of transformed aggression, but they do fight for any of a large number of reasons.

"They may fight because of simple acquisitiveness, or simple frustration, or a simple fear of strangers. They may fight because of displaced hatred, or projected hates or fears.

"There is no single all-embracing cause—no single villain of the peace, no institution nor idea that is wholly to blame."

Skillfully diagnosed! It, of course, follows "that to deal with the symptoms of transformed aggression—such as extreme nationalism, or class hatred—will not solve the problem of war. Aggression will only find another mode of expression."

What then, is the way out? There are two, according to the authors:

"... If war is due to the fundamental aggressiveness of human beings, who tend

to fight as individuals and in groups, then there are two solutions and two solutions only—either human beings must be changed or their aggressiveness must be restrained. Neither of these courses seems to us to be impracticable...

"... There are two ways and only two in which war can be reduced in frequency and violence—one, slow, curative and peaceful, aimed at the removal of the ultimate causes of war in human character by a new type of emotional education—the other, immediate, coercive, and aimed at symptoms, the restraint of the aggressor by force."

And which do they plump for?

Their study, they reply,

"... seems to us to reinforce abundantly the conclusion that a strong organ of collective security is the only protection possible from war..."

"Peace can only triumph with a sword in its hand. Such is the commonplace view of all intelligent supporters of international law... Until law is backed by force there seems to us no hope for law or peace."

"The commonplace view" they say. Commonplace is the word.

When social scientists descend to anticlimax of this kind one feels one's heart warming with a greater tolerance for the street corner Marxist, whose meagre education, hunger, hopelessness and unutilized energy hound him towards a similar philosophy, which he accepts and works for with self-sacrificing enthusiasm without the

ostentatious endorsement of University degrees.

Don't they see that if their diagnosis is right—and I for one am incompetent to do other than accept it wholly—they have merely succeeded in providing one discredited form of canalization for these mischievous human instincts in place of some other?

"Collective Security"—"The League of Nations"—"The Rule of Law"—in place of the Class, the Church, the Nation. And we may safely leave it to Lord Cecil, Sir Norman Angell, and the professional politicians to see that in this case, as in the others, "to justify it—to explain the group aggression to the outside world and to the group itself in terms that make it morally acceptable to the members of the group—great structures of intellectual reasoning—theories of history and religion and race"—will be "built up."

"Law is not justice," say our authors. "But neither is war."

Well, a plague on both of them!

The back of the jacket of the book is occupied largely with a quotation in praise of it from the *Political Quarterly*,

"The authors have succeeded in finding something new to say about war, and something which is not only new but extremely valuable."

### Nothing New

It is a thousand pities that, with so excellent a beginning they could not have found something new to say about Peace. This would not only have been new, but much more than "extremely" valuable.

Perhaps the reason they couldn't was that there is really little left to say about peace that one could call "new." Most of it was said about 2,000 years ago by a young Jewish evangelist on the shore of the Sea of Galilee.

That teaching has been admirably recapitulated by John Heyland in his latest book, *How Christ Met Aggression* (Peace Book Company, 3s. 6d.).

This is a book that should be on every pacifist's bookshelf. Our scientific authors should consult it too: it would help to bring their studies up to date.

## From the Editor's Notebook

### P.P.U. Handbook Nearly Ready Seeking Encouragement American "Livewire"

EVERY month, as reported on page 7 in answer to SIR AUCKLAND GEDDES, there is an increase in Peace Pledge Union membership to report. Last month, it was announced at the Sponsors' meeting on Friday, 438 more people signed the peace pledge and brought the net membership of the PPU up to 124,588.

The international service handbook—the PPU's reply to the latest national service drive—is now in its last stages and awaiting the Sponsors' final approval so that it can be out, if possible, before the Annual General Meeting. In connexion with the proposed youth campaign, a representative committee has been called together.

As we announced last week, the PPU is pushing the sale of Dr. C. E. M. Joad's Penguin booklet, *Why War?* A new PPU leaflet is a throwaway designed for mass distribution outside cinemas displaying the new Government national service recruiting plan called *The Warning*.

### Still They Go

TO the Sponsors who are, or who will shortly be, abroad, is now to be added the Rev. HENRY CARTER. He will be going to the West Indies, probably at the end of October, to inaugurate a Christian Citizenship Campaign out there.

Dr. A. HERBERT GRAY will be going to the United States in July, and the Sponsors there now are ALDOUS HUXLEY, CANON C. E. RAVEN, BERTRAND RUSSELL, and MISS ELIZABETH THORNEYCROFT.

### Help From Sponsors

THERE are, of course, plenty of Sponsors still at home, and the remarkable number of members of the Union who rallied, at such short notice, to the Kingsway Hall, London, W.C.1, last Wednesday, were glad to see so many of them there. They were also glad of the help which the Sponsors gave them on that informal occa-

sion, the purpose of which was not to demonstrate but to meet and seek encouragement in what was felt to be a very difficult time.

There was special satisfaction, it seemed to me, in the assertion—particularly by Dr. DONALD O. SOPER—that the difficulty of the time was not to be an excuse for stampeding pacifists into thinking they must do something different from what they have always been doing in their work for the removal of war from the world. As Dr. SOPER put it in a nutshell, "I believe I am still more use to the community preparing for peace than preparing for war."

Other points which seemed to sum up the feelings of those present were that we should more than ever respect the attitudes of our opponents; that the very frequency of crises that have recently come and gone without war should serve as an antidote to fear or panic (a point made by Miss VERA BRITAIN); and the point I tried to emphasize in these notes last week—put so much more graphically by Lord PONSONBY when he pointed out that it is "Jones telling Brown" that makes the "public opinion that counts."

### German "Agents"

IT will come as no surprise to those who have long since made up their minds that I am a Nazi agent, that I receive regularly *News from Germany*, issued monthly by one, R. HOFFMANN, of Starnberg.

So efficient an "agent" am I that I do not now find it possible to break what has become a long series of blanks drawn from a perusal of that "news" as it comes in. But I note this month that the tone of the contents is more than usually friendly towards us in this country. It will have to be a good deal more so next month if the present wave of anti-German hysteria in this country has not considerably subsided.

## WORKERS WILL PAY FOR ARMS

(continued from p. 1)

use the masses as factory-fodder. In wartime they use them as cannon-fodder.

And so it will be until the peoples refuse to be either factory-fodder or cannon-fodder, until they realise that there is no need for this economic system which exploits them in peace and massacres them in war.

There is abundance in the world for all. When we have the sense to utilize this abundance to meet the needs of the world instead of utilizing it merely to serve the profit of the possessing class of the rival Powers we shall end both exploitation and war.

### Islington Peace Shop

THE combined Islington groups of the Peace Pledge Union recently opened a permanent shop and centre in the main road.

Mr. Cecil Wilson, MP, who performed the opening ceremony, gave some valuable advice on how not to run a propaganda shop as well as some suggestions on how to arrange a window display.

Islington is a very difficult area both politically and geographically. The shop is therefore a real venture of faith. It will be run by a rota of members who have volunteered.

Pacifists will be welcomed at the shop, which is at 10 Holloway Road, N.7 (near Highbury Corner). The group leader is Will Hayden, of 76 Calabria Road, Highbury.

### Deputation to Liberal Leader

Dr C. E. M. Joad was expected to lead the deputation which called on Sir Archibald Sinclair, Leader of the Liberal Party, at the House of Commons on Wednesday, to put before him the results of the National Petition for a New Peace Conference, signed by over a million people. Canon Stuart Morris was also to be a member of the deputation.

A deputation has already seen the Premier, and Mr. Attlee, as leader of the Parliamentary Labour Party, has agreed in principle to receive a deputation. It is hoped that he will do so very soon after the Easter recess.

"Peace News" Offices  
3, Blackstock Road,  
London, N.4

Meanwhile, those who wish to continue their good work as Peace Pledge Union—or at any rate as peace "agents"—to Germany will be glad to know that the German letter which has already been sent to hundreds of Germans in Munich has now been redrafted to meet the present situation and is ready to be sent to Germans in Berlin.

### The Call to Action

A CERTAIN livewire from the United States seems to have had more success in stimulating unusual activity than has the crisis.

PAUL HARRIS, of the National Council for Prevention of War, which corresponds to the National Peace Council here, has really come, as he put it to me, to ask questions, but what he has been able to tell his audiences about American methods of peace action (of which he is one of the leading exponents in Washington) has stimulated a desire at least to study them and as far as possible to apply them here.

Arising out of his speech to the London group leaders of the Peace Pledge Union, for example, a few interested members met at the Dick Sheppard Club to discuss his tactics and approach—which, in a word or two, amount to planning various forms of propaganda and addressing them to people according to whether they are disinterested, just willing to be informed, or willing actually to work for peace. It was felt that there was a need to experiment on these lines, and they will be interested to hear from any members or groups who desire to cooperate respectively in (a) regularly preparing and duplicating leaflets and (b) using the leaflets and technique in their areas. Names can be sent to KENNETH A. LEE, 9 Mowbray Road, Golders Green, London, N.W.6. H.S.M.



## "European War Depends on U.S.A."

I AM more and more convinced that there will be no war in Europe this spring, this year, or next year, unless the United States encourages, urges, and eggs Europe on to it. There will be no war in Europe unless the United States shows a definite will to help out when war comes, and an inclination to finance it.

—U.S. Senator Gerald P. Nye.

## Lord Arnold on COLONIES FOR DICTATORS

Loughton held its first pacifist public meeting last Thursday with Lord Arnold and the Rev. Basil Viney as the speakers.

The chairman, Mr. Ben Platten, said that European rulers attributed so many violent political measures to a desire for peace, that a tolerant spirit must become the first mental equipment of every pacifist.

Lord Arnold said that our attempts to crush German militarism had only succeeded in fostering its growth. The tangled skein of world hate must be unravelled, and pacifism was the only creed fitted to undertake the job.

Germany and Japan needed colonies, and their grievances must be met by unselfish adjustment.

This adjustment could not, especially in the light of recent events, take the form of ceding colonies to the dictators. It could, however, be done by administering our possessions under new legislation, and throwing open their markets to the world. This must preclude any sharing out of colonies.

Undoubtedly the initiative in adjustment must rest with this country.

### NO WAR YET

The Rev. Basil Viney said that members of the Peace Pledge Union should believe that there were certain evils that they would rather suffer themselves than inflict on other people. War was one of these. Everyone went into war with the determination to suffer, pacifists must realize that their ideals demand a similar thing.

Lord Arnold had said that world domination by Germany was inconceivable. Mr. Viney went further and said that war was unlikely for many years yet, and was never inevitable.

A proposed visit of Mr. R. S. Hudson to the Soviet Union, and the many indications that the National Government are seeking closer relationship with that country will stimulate interest in a volume which has been recently published by Messrs. Lawrence & Wishart.

This is *Against Aggression*, a collection of M. Litvinov's most important speeches on foreign policy, together with the texts of the various pacts and treaties which the USSR has negotiated with neighbouring nations.

## Gandhi's Christian Revolution

By JOHN HOYLAND

A crisis in India before very long over the question of Federation may bring the Indian National Congress to the attention of the British public. The rise and growth of the Congress is described in a book just published,\* which is dealt with in the following article.

THE chief interest of this book lies in the manner in which it portrays the process by which the ordinary methods of Western democratic agitation developed in India, as if under the impulse of an irresistible compulsion, into a totally new type of national resurrection.

For a generation after its foundation in 1885, the Indian National Congress remained a perfectly respectable debating assembly, run on Western democratic lines, and contenting itself with passing year after year a series of resolutions demanding this and that advance toward Indianization of the Services or extension of legislative power for the provincial Councils. Then came Mr. Gandhi's return to India, after the extraordinary success of his *Satyagraha* struggles in South Africa, where he had wrung concessions and reforms on a substantial scale from a reluctant government, simply by organizing the power for mass-suffering possessed by thousands of uneducated Indian workmen.

### CHRISTIAN REVOLUTION

In a few years' time the complexion of affairs had wholly altered in India. The National Congress had become a revolutionary body, not in the Western sense of

barricades, civil warfare and firing-squads, but in what may be called a Christian sense. Under the leadership of Mr. Gandhi it was calling to a great nation of three hundred and fifty million human beings to prove itself worthy of freedom by suffering for freedom, without resentment and without violence against those who caused that suffering.

A few years more, and young Indians of both sexes were facing unflinchingly the armed forces of "law and order," and standing up to being beaten senseless in swathes. No British lives were lost in these fifteen years of passive resistance, but many Indian lives were gladly given. At last we came through to a new peace and a new freedom, in what has been called a "honeymoon spirit" between the two races.

### POWERFUL WEAPON

The process is as yet very far from complete: but enough has been achieved to demonstrate that the weapon of *Satyagraha*, which the Congress employed under the guidance of Mr. Gandhi, has a significance far wider and a power far greater than was shown when it was used by Hungary against Austria in 1867, or by Germany against France in the Ruhr in 1923.

In *Satyagraha* there is an infinitely more effective and more Christian way of action against wrong.

The present book only deals with the beginning of the *Satyagraha* developments in modern India; but the information given regarding the genesis of the movement is extremely valuable.

# American Programme for a New World Conference

## AN ALTERNATIVE TO FORCE

THE proposal for a world conference, which is gathering support in this country and has been brought before the Prime Minister and the Opposition leaders, is also being advocated in the USA. The American National Peace Conference, clearing house for 42 national organizations, is now committed to the task of working for such a conference, to deal chiefly with economic problems but also with related political problems.

The suggestion is being put forward as an alternative to the method of force in dealing with the dictators. The National Peace Conference has enlisted the services of Dr. Eugene Staley of the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy in working out an agenda for such a world conference. Excerpts from his proposal, as they appeared in *Peace Action* (published by the National Council for Prevention of War) are given below.

SPECIFICALLY [wrote Dr. Staley] the agenda of the conference should be set up to work along three lines:

1. To give new impulse to international economic cooperation by adopting certain principles as a rallying point for the future—a purely symbolic act.

This would be in the form of a pact proclaiming a unifying social purpose; that the signatories intend to work together for simultaneous improvement of living standards throughout the world, and that they recognize the right of all peoples, great and small, to have equal access on fair conditions to the resources of the world.

Permanent Economic Organization

2. To improve the institutional machinery of international economic cooperation. An autonomous International Economic Organization, with representation of economic groups as well as governments, should be established to take over and extend the admirable economic services of the League of Nations and to expand world economic cooperation along lines that would be at least nascently "federal."

This means providing for other than strictly government delegates on the permanent controlling body (along the lines of the International Labour Organization), and granting authority for positive action by the International Economic Organization on a limited range of problems without depending always on execution by national governments. The main task of the world economic conference would be to work out the terms of a treaty which, when ratified by a specified number of States, would be the constitution of such a permanent International Economic Organization.

### World Development Programme

3. To launch concrete measures of positive economic cooperation which would be started by the conference and then carried through under the guidance of the new International Economic Organization. By way of example:

(a) A "world development programme" should be launched. It should be a carefully studied effort to improve the productivity of less advanced areas of the world, at the same time providing an outlet for the capital goods industries of America and Europe, and lessening the shock of readjustment that is inevitable as outlying areas increase their industrial activity.

An international development programme will have to be part of any effort to stop the present arms race, for the economic problem of providing substitute activity for over-developed armaments industries (especially the heavy, capital goods lines) cannot otherwise be met.

(b) Setting up some kind of world public supervision over international monopolies and international commodity control schemes. We have today in commodities like tin, rubber, nickel, copper, sugar, coffee, and many others, world problems of monopoly or world problems of coordinating various attempts at regulation.

Many attempts at "planning" are restrictive today rather than positive because the control is of a national basis while the problem is on a world basis. There is a pressing need for continuous international action here, and it cannot be satisfactorily met by any method short of permanent "federal" agencies on a world scale. Here is one of the first tasks of the new International Economic Organization if formed.

### Totalitarian States

The action proposed in this memorandum could be taken by a world economic conference with or without the attendance, or the agreement, of Germany, Italy, and Japan. . . . If they do not [participate], then the kind of programme suggested could be started without them, leaving the door open for their adherence on reasonable conditions at any time.

The existence of a concrete and widely-dramatized new effort at peaceful adjustment through economic cooperation would set up a positive alternative to war that might perhaps help to dissuade the aggressively inclined, and in any event would improve the moral (and the economic) position of the defenders of lawful procedure in world affairs.

Commenting on the proposals, *Peace Action* declared:

"Americans who are undecided as to the wisdom of a world conference at this time should keep in mind that change is inevitable, whether we like it or not. The question is, shall we guide that change and make the fruits of it constructive, or shall we allow it to run riot and sow the seeds for further destruction?"

"The latter course has been followed by the powerful nations in the past twenty years. It is just now being realized that the longer we put off assuming direction of the course of change, the harder it becomes to direct it. Desire for change feeds on itself."

## New Zealand P.P.U. Makes Progress

THE New Zealand Peace Pledge Union has now nearly forty members in Wellington, the capital. This figure is gradually increasing, not so much by making converts as by locating the pacifists in Wellington.

Members are, however, steadily working away at pacifist propaganda, though response is not spontaneous. Apathy is the chief obstacle, and there are restrictions on poster parading and street meetings. As for press propaganda, members consider themselves fortunate if they see one letter published out of every five written to the newspapers.

The secretary, Mr. M. Young, who sends greetings to signatories of the peace pledge throughout the world, invites other pacifist bodies to correspond with the Wellington PPU. His address is 29 Rata Road, Hataitai, Wellington, New Zealand.

## Where Mussolini Was Wrong

Commenting on Mussolini's assertion that perpetual peace would be a "catastrophe for the human race," "Candidus" wrote in the *Daily Sketch* last week:

"There is a fallacy in Mussolini's dictum. It may well be that difference of opinion, strife and competition are a great motive power in human affairs, and that without them the best systems would fall into corruption and decay. The fallacy is in assuming that what is called war is the only form that this salutary strife can take."

"Because motion and change are necessary to human well-being it does not follow by any means that war is the only, or even a wholesome way of change. One sometimes hears the enthusiasts for war talk of 'war's red rain' as though it were a fertilizing agent out of which nothing but good could come. In the same sense one might speak of the Black Death or cholera or smallpox or any human calamity as schools of moral excellence. In this sense, but in no other, good may come out of evil."

## Paris Conference on Problems Facing Democracy

An international conference "of an entirely new kind," to discuss the problems confronting the democracies today and the difficulties experienced in the effort to create a democratic peace front against aggression, will be held in Paris on May 13 and 14.

It will be essentially a working conference, and will devote its attention to the problems involved in bringing about a unity of the democracies; to a discussion of the steps which must be taken to preserve the independence and liberty of the small countries of Europe; and to the problems facing all those who wish to preserve human dignity, freedom and culture from the ever-increasing attacks of fascism.

The conference will be held at the Maison de la Chimie, 28 Rue Saint-Dominique, Paris, and international, national and district organizations desiring to send delegates should apply for delegates' credentials directly to the Organizing Committee, 38 Boulevard Raspail, Paris, 7.

### School in Denmark

"Christian Teaching about Peace Today" will be the general subject of a summer school for workers in the Christian Peace Movement, which will be held in Fanø, Denmark, from May 27 to June 7.

Organized by the International Fellowship of Reconciliation, the school will be visited by the following lecturers: Professor G. H. C. MacGregor (Glasgow), Professor Charles E. Raven (Cambridge), Professor F. Siegmund-Schultze (Zurich), Pastor Henri Roser (Paris), Miss Muriel Lester (London), Bishop Noack (Hadersley, Denmark), Mr. P. C. Hsu (China), Pastor Edwin Lister (Norway) and Professor Ording (Norway).

It will probably be necessary to limit the numbers attending to about fifty; application should therefore be made without delay to the Secretary, I.F.R., 16 Victoria Street, London, S.W.1.

### What Confidence Can Do

Reports that the British Government might call a conference for the limitation of arms this year resulted in a recent rise of  $\frac{1}{2}$  point in British Government Securities.

Leaving aside the improvement in international politics which would make such a conference possible, the City believed that any limitation of the arms race would be followed by an improvement in world trade which would far more than offset decreased spending on armaments.

\*The Rise and Growth of the Indian Congress. By C. F. Andrews and G. Mookerjee. G. Allen & Unwin. 7s. 6d.



## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

## Our Response to National Service :: A Task for Pacifists

ON behalf of a small group of people I am writing to seek further help in the matter of our response to National Service.

We welcome the manifesto published on behalf of the Society of Friends, which supports our condemnation both of war as a method of settling international disputes and of the policy of our Government which has resulted in the present crisis; but we feel that, in addition to a simple refusal to join in National Service, there is one important question still to be faced.

Certain members of the Society of Friends, the Peace Pledge Union, and other societies with whom I have discussed this question would be prepared to undertake duties identical with those of the official National Service scheme provided these were only in support of "the relief of suffering," and not of national policy. We feel, however, that by enrolling ourselves in our own organizations we should still be achieving the same practical results as those of National Service—should still be acting as a unit in the chain of release from normal routine duties ultimately resulting in the freeing of those prepared to undertake the more unpleasant tasks of immediate warfare.

Since, in addition, any duties we might undertake would be under the final control of the Government, surely we should find that cooperation with the authorities would be forced upon us to an ever-increasing degree, as happened to the Friends' ambulance units during the Great War.

Only the rôle of the absolute conscientious objectors is left to us; and yet, when we consider the problems of the evacuation of children from danger and of working to aid the sick and wounded, this solution of the problem seems to be negative to an almost unendurable degree. We feel that the active expression of our ideals is possible, providing the organization of those who hold similar views is undertaken before the threat of war becomes immediate.

Only a body of people prepared to undertake duties for the relief of suffering upon both opposing sides in an international conflict would be able to adopt a policy which, while active and positive, supported neither the ideal of armed force nor the policy of our Government. The functioning of such an organization in time of war would be permitted, however, only if it provided a solution to the problem of an otherwise large body of absolute conscientious objectors; nor is it likely that a foreign government would permit members of the organization within its territory unless they were prepared to obviate all suspicion of espionage by working within the limits of some form of concentration camp.

This solution alone seems to us to reduce the indirect support of the policy of force to the minimum, and increase the promotion of our ideals among the people of other nations to the maximum. Will members of the Peace Pledge Union give us their sincere thought?

BASIL GRIMSHAW.

40 South Oak Lane, Wilmslow, Cheshire.

## P.P.U. in Hyde Park

A few weeks ago I ventured to suggest that a Hyde Park stand would help the Peace Pledge Union. I received a sufficient number of answers to encourage me to start such a platform. We are planning to start it off on April 16. We have had some offers of help for speaking, &c., but could do with more. We do not want the PPU to be judged on the individual efforts of about four of us. If people cannot speak, we would welcome them as sellers of *Peace News* or even as individual members of the audience.

I would suggest that any members of the PPU who care to support us should wear their badges: our badge should be a symbol of the solidarity of our movement.

D. H. E. HILL.

127 Uxbridge Road, London, W.12.

It is literally impossible to publish all the letters we receive.

Other things being equal, letters of not more than 200 words stand the best chance of publication.

## "NOT BY MIGHT—"

I WROTE this to the Archbishop of Canterbury:

"I am informed that in the House you remarked: 'Right must be backed by might.' Will you be kind enough to explain to me, what, in your judgement, is the interpretation of the Biblical words, 'Not by right nor by might, but by my power'?"

The reply received from the Archbishop's chaplain was this:

"The quotation to which you refer in your postcard to the Archbishop of Canterbury comes from the Old Testament, and runs as follows:

"Not by might, nor by power, but by my spirit, saith the Lord of Hosts' (Zechariah 4, verse vi).

"An isolated text of this kind, coming from the Old Testament, cannot be held to have any direct or special bearing upon the present circumstances."

This highly intellectual reply may interest the readers of *Peace News* if you can spare me a small space in your valuable columns.

H. ROSINA HYETT.

Hill View, Badgeworth Road, Churchdown, nr. Gloucester.

## Pacifists in Politics

ANDREW STEWART (*Peace News*, March 24) says he sees no need for a new party, because "the present political parties satisfy the public requirements." And I presume he uses the term "requirements" to mean "demands" rather than "needs."

But the proper function of a party is not to satisfy mere demands—offering the public what is likely to be popular. It has the serious duty of educating people into accepting a policy which meets real needs. And the absence of any conviction among older parties that the people need pacifism is sufficient reason for forming a new one.

I agree that if war comes pacifists will have failed. But, by neglecting independent political action, they are seriously limiting their effectiveness and really inviting failure.

W. L. WILLIAMS.  
General Secretary Christian  
Pacifist Party.

11 Morningside, Coventry.

## Organization

May I say how pleased I was to read Maurice Rowntree's statement (*Peace News*, March 31) on the proposals to be put before the Annual General Meeting of the PPU?

Those who have worked for the movement since its inception must have had repeated experiences to make them seriously consider whether all is well with the PPU. This Federation has from the first maintained that, excellent as the Sponsors are in their own respective spheres of life, they are not the most suitable persons to direct and control the administrative side of the Union's affairs. Broadly representative of the nationally-known pacifists, their services are of great value to the PPU and widely appreciated. Nevertheless, most of them by their daily avocations and engagements are prevented from sharing in the day-to-day work of PPU groups and are thus deprived of an adequate understanding of the needs and wishes of the rank and file of the movement.

One could cite numerous instances over the past months to support the contention that the PPU has repeatedly failed on various occasions. In some instances it has been a failure to take action at the appropriate time or in appropriate ways. More generally it has been a lack of that efficiency on the administrative side which is so essential in a movement which calls on the nation to revolutionize its whole national policy.

DENIS RILEY.  
Hon. Secretary, West Yorkshire  
Federation of PPU.

13 Beech Avenue, Horsforth, nr. Leeds.

## 'Social Outcasts'

WHAT would happen to the majority of PPU members in the event of war?

Would they be able to live their lives normally? The answer is obviously "No." Many thousands of these signatories are young persons, like the writer himself, who, in the event of war, although they might not lose their jobs immediately, would certainly become social outcasts, even in their own family, where most of the members would be doing some form of ARP work.

Doubtless there are many who would be able to face such trials unperturbed, but I am confident that there are also many who would not be able to hold out for long. This letter is concerned with what could be done to alleviate the difficulties of these people. The answer which one normally gets to such a question is that the more fortunate members of the local group would try to help them. This answer might be all right if the ratio of fortunate to unfortunate were about equal, but this will in all probability not be the case; there will probably be about six unfortunates to every fortunate one.

Therefore, I think that it is necessary to find some other method of solving this problem. I consider that the following scheme, providing it were properly organized beforehand, might do something to lessen the burden of these people. I suggest that groups of people: who know that in the event of war they will be in an awkward position should be formed in each region, and then, in the event of the outbreak of war, they should start up what I believe is termed an "income pooling community."

The great point about such groups is that the members would not feel alone in the world, and they would not feel so tempted to give up faith in the cause. I am fully aware that there are many snags to such schemes; for example, the Government might try to break up such groups. But I feel that an effort, even if it is only in vain, is better than no effort at all.

The reason for forming the groups before war starts is in order that the members should get to know each other beforehand. If such a scheme as this is already in existence I should be very much obliged to you if you would send me fuller details of it.

B. ANTHONY CLARKE.

137 Melfort Road, Thornton Heath, Surrey.

## National Council Proposal

It is clearly necessary to set up a National Council of the Peace Pledge Union so that there may be better personal contact and understanding among all branches of the movement.

This should be done in such a manner as to ensure the maximum personal responsibility of all members, both for the actual elections and for all decisions on policy, &c., taken by the Council during its year of office.

The Birmingham Council feels that this would not be achieved by the proposal to elect one person to be absolute leader, nor by the proposal to elect Sponsors to be the executive body as at present, even if they were helped by an

advisory provincial council, since the membership would have no direct responsibility for decisions taken, and this would not tend to create efficiency in our work for peace.

The proposal to make the provincial council the executive body comes nearer to what is needed, since its members would be elected and instructed by the signatories in the various districts. But the recent annual meeting of the Birmingham PPU decided unanimously that the best scheme would be to set up a National Council composed of Sponsors, elected as at present, head office executives, and elected representatives of the district councils.

SIDNEY GEORGE CONBEER.

Vice-Chairman, Birmingham  
Peace Pledge Union.  
113 Summerfield Crescent, Birmingham, 16.

ONE of the most obvious dangers in the attitude of the pacifist is that his indignation against international injustice may lead him into clamouring for war or for action which would lead to war. It happened to many pacifists in 1914 and it is happening now.

Many of the proposals of Mr. D. W. Smith's letter (Numbers 4 to 8) form an admirable programme for pacifist policy. Numbers 1 to 3 would, however, almost inevitably land us in war. To suppose that we could break off diplomatic relations and trade negotiations with Berlin and intensify the economic encirclement of Germany and remain at peace with her seems to me to be an illusory hope. If we believe that that is the right course we should also support military preparedness. It is not reasonable to suggest warlike courses unless also we are prepared to cooperate in the war that these are likely to land us in.

I think the most important task for pacifists now is to oppose the growth of the state of psychological preparedness for war with Germany. The annexation of Bohemia and Moravia was an evil thing, but indignation about it is being deflected by current propaganda into indignation against Germany.

There are other Germans besides Hitler and the Nazis. There are millions of decent kindly people who we should be asked to kill in the next war. Some of these have been converted by propaganda into a state of unreasoning enthusiasm for Nazism; some have received the bodies of their relatives from concentration camps in sealed coffins, and they long for the fall of the Nazi regime with a depth and bitterness far greater than that of the French or British. All are Germans and all would be united in defence of Germany against an external enemy.

Hatred leads to war and our hatred is now being enlisted against Nazi oppression not by those who hate cruelty but by those who hate the enemies of Great Britain. The task before pacifists is to keep themselves immune from that infection of hatred, and to resist the temptations of the "war to end war," or the "war to end oppression" or war in any other of the disguises its advocates can use to make it appeal to those who love humanity and who love peace.

R. H. THOULESS.

Yorke House, 83 Newmarket Road, Cambridge.

## N.C.L. Youth Section

The No Conscription League has asked me to initiate the formation of a Youth Section.

I would like first of all to form an *ad hoc* committee which would take on the function of preparing the skeleton youth organization. For the moment this committee would necessarily be confined to friends living in, or easily accessible to, London. If interested persons between the ages of 17 and 30 would get in touch with me I will, according to the replies received, undertake to call a meeting within fourteen days of this letter appearing in print.

Secondly, comrades living in the provinces who communicate with me I would put in contact with the nearest branch of the NCL, or failing that we will keep in touch with them and with their help attempt the organization of a branch in their area. In any case I would be glad of their names and addresses in connexion with the suggested National Convention which the NCL hopes to organize in the immediate future.

TREVOR WILLIAMS.  
c/o 35 St Bride Street, London, E.C.4.

## Cast Out Fear

Ruth Fry's article "Blue Funk" (*Peace News*, March 24) hits the nail right on the head. Fear is the biggest curse in the world, and it is nothing but fear which stops so many from joining the PPU.

There are many who honestly believe that pacifism is not practical, that there is another way to peace and such are to be admired for the honesty of their convictions, but I feel that there are many more who really want peace and yet who dare not become pacifists for fear of what might happen. Hitler is the biggest bogey of all! Thousands of people are frightened to death of him.

Pacifists must try to live fearless lives and do their utmost to help others to overcome this perpetual dread of what is going to happen next.

KENNETH STOCKHAM.

182 Binley Road, Coventry.



## Shall We Let Them Die?

### CLEAR THINKING ON THE REFUGEE PROBLEM

"WHAT we are now required to contradict—not merely in idea but in act—is the belief that self-preservation is the first law of human nature." So writes Max Plowman in an article on "The Right to Live" in the current issue of *The Adelphi*.

What we have done, he declares, is to substitute for "the social law of love—without which we cannot exist in infancy for more than a few hours . . . the law of competitive struggle, not with nature, but with our fellow creatures." While competition for the means of subsistence is regarded as a basic rule of human life, war will continue to be the normal activity of man.

"Birth and infancy," he continues, "shows us that we are basically dependent upon one another and that the primary law of our life is that we shall be dependent for our lives upon the love of others. Love, and not self-preservation, is the first law of human nature."

"Life is a gift which we receive at the hands of . . . Of whom? That is the question. Whole philosophies hang upon our answer to it. At the hands of our parents is the most obvious answer. True enough; but in their separate individualities they have no power to transmit life. So we come back to the basic truth that life is the offspring of life, and to the corollary: no love no life. And thus it becomes simple and rational to say that God is love."

"Love, then, is seen to be the human creature's birthright, the fundamental necessity of his life, the mainspring of his action and the element by which his growth is conditioned."

#### Lesson of Refugees

But although, by the fact that murder is punishable, civilized countries negatively recognize a man's right to his life, the right to maintenance stands upon another footing.

"What we are now required to recognize is that unless the human family can concede to its members both the right of life and the right to the means of maintenance, we shall, before long not merely need to rearm as nations but to rearm as individuals . . ."

"That is the obvious lesson of the refugees." If society wants neither refugees nor unemployed, let us have the common honesty to say so and act accordingly . . . So the question with which the world really stands confronted is: Ought we to kill off the refugees? We have the power. Is it advisable? And if this question seems shocking or extravagant, does it not seem so only because it is an honest question concerning a problem we hope we shall be able to evade if we keep our eyes averted from it while we drop a copper in Lord Baldwin's hat?

As for the unemployed, Max Plowman points out that man's demand last century was for a living wage on the ground that a full day's work demanded it. As the machine takes over more of man's work, for what can the so-called "working" man appeal? "For the right to receive the dole. For the right to be maintained as a parasite upon the existing economic body. On what ground? On the ground of national birthright."

#### New Civilization Needed

But a refugee "is without nationality, and in that he is without nationality he has no ground on which to demand the means of maintenance from anyone."

Britain had put obstacles in the way of the refugees' entry. "Labour, instead of identifying itself with the proletarian outcasts of the world, is chiefly concerned to maintain trade union wages . . ." The fact that it involved compelling men to make the means of their own destruction is glossed over, as is the fact that it means fortifying the system which creates the refugee.

"A civilization which will not concede to its members the right to work—which is the human equivalent to the right to live—is no longer entitled to be called a civilization," concluded Max Plowman. "Plainly what we must do is to begin building a new civilization . . . upon the belief—call it religious, humane, social, what you will—that human life is a sacred gift which it is only human to cherish and bestial to destroy—upon the belief, springing from the Human Imagination, that the other fellow has the right to live which it is ours to concede him."

#### "Europe Must Unite"

Among other notable contributions to this month's *Adelphi*, is the second of two articles by A. Henghes, entitled "Causes of the European Crisis," in which the author declares that, "whatever contingency we foresee, from whatever angle we approach the problem, the net result is always the same, and that is the eventual unification of Europe and with it the USA as a collaborator."

War, he points out, would, therefore, be "a senseless waste and nothing more than a procrastination of inexorable necessity." "Is it not yet too late," he asks, "for the democracies to find within themselves the moral strength and the vision to prevent this absurd interim, simply by a realization, acute and conscious, of our true need for unity?"

## SIR AUCKLAND GEDDES ANSWERED

### The Pacifist Movement IS PROGRESSING

FIGURES relating to the progress of the Peace Pledge Union belie the statement by Sir Auckland Geddes, reported in last week's *Peace News*, that the pacifist trend in the country is "shrinking steadily."

Since December the PPU has received, on an average, 450 new members every month. Here are the figures showing total membership during the last three months:

January	123,801
February	124,368
March	124,588

These figures take into consideration any fall in membership through deaths, resignations, &c., and are, therefore, an index of the actual net growth of the PPU. They show that although it was correct of Sir Auckland to say "that there is still a very strong pacifist trend in many parts of the country," it was certainly incorrect to portray it as diminishing.

#### Nation-Wide Influence

The growth of groups is another indication of the virile condition of the PPU. Here are the figures:

	No. of Groups
August, 1936	156
January, 1937	253
January, 1938	750
January, 1939	1,150

It should further be remembered that the

#### Next Week

**MESSAGES from SPONSORS on "THE YEAR AHEAD"**

growth of the Union's activity has been followed by the setting up of subsidiary headquarters in some places. Besides the national headquarters in London, there are such centres in Glasgow, Birmingham, Wrexham, Manchester, Cardiff, and Newton Abbott. So much for Sir Auckland's contention that the pacifist trend is "patchy!"

If further refutation of it were needed it is to be found in the fact that Dick Sheppard Centres are growing in all directions. There are now about 28 of these, and another fifteen are already planned.

Altogether the PPU can justifiably claim to be an active, growing movement, whose influence, though naturally greater in some places than others, is nation-wide.

### Labour Will Oppose Conscription

The attitude of the Labour Party should conscription proposals be brought before the House of Commons, was outlined by Mr. Thomas Johnston, MP, when he addressed a Labour demonstration in Stirling last week.

"The Labour Party," he said, "opposes conscription not for any selfish reason but for three or four, as we believe, good and sufficient reasons in the national interest."

They were entitled to know what they were to be conscripted for, who they were to fight for, and why."

### Outer London Pacifist Groups Unite

A Council of Pacifist Groups will shortly be formed in the Outer North-West London Area. This was decided at a conference of pacifist groups from that area held at Whan Cross, Buckinghamshire, recently.

The Council will incorporate Harrow Council of Christian Pacifist Groups, the Fellowship of Reconciliation, Methodist Peace Fellowship and Peace Pledge Union groups. It was felt at the conference that such a council would make for greater co-operation, and the ability to concentrate upon specific districts not yet touched by pacifist propaganda.

In a discussion during the conference on "Preaching the Gospel" it was pointed out that mere renunciation of war was not enough—it must issue in a more positive attitude to life and in activity. Thus the behaviour of the individual was essential to propaganda, and practising pacifism was needed as much as preaching.

## Those Who Always Pay



With Acknowledgements to the *Daily Express*.

## "Men in the Street" and the Arms Estimates £580,000,000: PRICE OF BRITAIN'S BETRAYAL

These are the third and fourth "man-in-the-street" views of the latest arms estimates. They are from Bristol and Leicester respectively.

MOST of us can remember the wave of enthusiasm throughout this country when the Disarmament Conference met in 1932. It is true that that enthusiasm never spread to the Government but among the people there was an active and well-informed demand for disarmament both because of the colossal burden of expenditure (£106 millions in 1932) and because it was recognized that arms did not give security.

Today that enthusiasm has given place to a sort of stunned apathy among the people, while the political parties vie with one another in encouraging the Government to spend more and more on arms. Many of the organizations most active for disarmament in 1932 now pin their faith in arms as the way to peace.

Thus it comes about that whereas £106 millions for arms was an intolerable burden in 1932, £580 millions can be spent for the same purpose in 1939 without protest. In this last year the increase in expenditure equals three times the total bill in 1932.

★

The belief that armaments do not give security, generally accepted in 1932 but subsequently renounced by many is proved beyond doubt by present events. For not only did they singularly fail to give security to the Czechs, but the people in this country, "protected" by enormously powerful arms, feel less secure than ever before.

To the fear of war as a result of the arms race is now added the fear of bankruptcy. Many of those who still support rearmament—especially the Trade Union leaders—recognize that the arms race—if war is avoided—will probably end in an industrial slump on a scale never before known. If we are to avoid either of these two tragedies the public must be awakened out of their apathy and their enthusiasm re-aroused for disarmament as a way to peace.

★

While the Peace Pledge Union is right to seek the removal of the underlying causes of war as the only final solution to the problem of war, it should devote its energy also to exposing the facts and the implications of rearmament, for the arms race is having the effect of greatly extending the vested interest in war among the working

(continued on p. 8)



# PEACE NEWS

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THE PEACE PLEDGE UNION welcomes all who accept the pacifist doctrine, no matter what their approach. Its activity is not confined to the registration of those who are opposed to war, but promotes and encourages a constructive peace policy. Members are attached to local groups designed to achieve a communal peace mentality and extend the influence of pacifism by propaganda and personal example. Give your pledge on a postcard:—

**I renounce war and I will never support or sanction another.**

Sign this, add your address, and send the card to The Peace Pledge Union, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.

April 7, 1939

## The Editor's Point of View

# Restraint and Realism

ALTHOUGH the international situation continues to change, or develop, almost daily, the position can now be seen in broad outline. It amounts to this: that Germany is being encircled, so far as "democracies" are finding it possible, by a ring of power definitely and admittedly intended to close in on Germany at the first "clear threat" to Polish independence.

What that actually means it is difficult to imagine and impossible for an Englishman to assert. One has to be a Pole to know such things! For the decision rests with the Poles—the British Government has been at pains to make it clear; nor has it the slightest desire to influence that decision, being apparently content that the lives and hopes and wishes of the people whom it is supposed to govern democratically shall be at the mercy of a foreign Power with no responsibility at all to those people.

In fairness to most of those who have always clamoured for some definite commitment to fight in certain circumstances, they have not generally pleaded that the awful decision should be left in the hands of a single State. It has, in fact, been one of the weaknesses of their claim to be practical that they have generally envisaged, or (more often) vaguely suggested, an impossibly ideal state of affairs incorporating some kind of world authority, varying between a "police" force and a complete system of government. Yet they do not now seem to be objecting to this aspect of what they claim to be the Government's new policy of "collective security." Some have even objected that the commitment does not go far enough!

But, in general, this appalling commitment of the British people to lose their all at the beck and call of any one of less than half a dozen foreign countries is hailed as the emergence at long last of a form of collective security. Whenever, anticipating that this was the only practical form in which it could ever emerge, pacifists have told them it could not be more inclusive than was the collection of "Allied Powers" that opposed the "aggressor" in 1914—with what disastrous effect the world now knows—they have always replied either with frank disbelief or with the weighty argument that the disaster was not due to the smallness or self-interest of the group but to the uncertainty as to whether the most powerful member would really be found in it.

Well, that argument has now gone. What about it? Are we in for an era of perpetual peace, or even for "a long period of peace"? Few are behaving as if we were: fewer still are preparing to reap the fruits of peace.

But, we are reminded by the more sincere advocates of this perilous policy, that attainment of security is only one aspect of it. The other aspect is the negotiation of a general international settlement, or at least of a series of agreements, which would give justice to all and remove the causes of future friction. Good. But when are they going to start clamouring with anything like the same vigour for that aspect of their noble dream? There has been no noticeable demand to that effect yet. Yet action of that kind is even more urgently necessary than action of a restraining nature.

Or is it that those who have always been as sincerely convinced of the impossibility of so-called collective security to bring peace are now to be shown that their fears were all too well grounded? Are they to be told now, as they themselves have already said many times, that such a policy is never completed on the "restraining" side, that the ring is never quite closed, so that the other side—the ostensible goal of the policy—is never begun? The events of these days, the comings and goings between capitals and Government offices, are still in the process of putting the policy of "collective security" to this its supreme test.

But whatever the answer, how can the Germans honestly be blamed for believing that the new policy is one only of encirclement and that they can expect no more justice from it than they have hitherto experienced? And how can anyone but a pacifist, who believes that even in the cause of justice it is not permissible for men to slaughter one another and their women and children, honestly blame Herr Hitler if he acts accordingly?

For Herr Hitler, however much of an idealistic

dreamer about his own policies, is (like most idealists) capable of seeing his opponents' policies realistically. He sees the "new" British policy as one of massing power so as to be stronger than Germany. In that respect, if in no other, that policy is not different from that which prevailed—with a passivity born of its complete success—for some 15 years after the Great War. How that time—and that superiority of strength—was used every German knows. Unfortunately, the mere fact that Herr Hitler reminds us of it seems to be, for many who are incapable even of thinking of the man calmly, a good enough reason for ignoring the fact.

Yet, in a very real sense, it is the gravest disservice to peace, and therefore to the people of our own country (not to mention our comrades in all lands), not to put oneself in the German position in order to see the reality of the situation. For to do so must surely be to see that if peace is sincerely to be sought (and not the mere satisfaction of feelings however justly outraged), this vicious circle of mistrust, suspicion, fear must be broken at the earliest possible moment.

The process must begin with an immediate cessation of further aggravation—such as the tendency to belittle Herr Hitler's utterly reasonable, if unpleasantly warning, speech. It must be quickly followed up with an indication that it would be impossible for Germans to mistake that we are not only sincere but active in the policy announced by Mr. Chamberlain in Parliament on Friday—that of "the adjustment by way of free negotiation between the parties concerned, of any differences that may arise between them."

As *The Times* said during the September crisis, War has hitherto been the principal instrument of international change—particularly of racial unification. Some substitute must be found for it; and, whatever the actual diplomatic method, the consent must be gained of both parties, one of which—at least—must make some sacrifice, real or apparent.

Can we possibly, with any sense of justice or realism, imagine that we are not called upon to make some initial sacrifice in what is, essentially, a fundamental issue between the have and have-not Powers.

**Humphrey S. Moore**

## Power of an Inspired Minority

By AMOS FRANCIS

"You are still too many," persisted the inner guide to Gideon, when he proposed to lead 10,000 men against the attacking swarms of Midian. So 9,700 were picturesquely discarded at the waterside.

The remaining three hundred, alert and vigilant, went out with a torch, a trumpet, and an empty pitcher apiece. The troops of Midian fled.

THAT primitive story is a striking reminder that even the tribal man put his trust in the forcefulness of minorities. A few single-minded men—unarmed at that—are recognized as the most effective means to oppose brute force at its worst and most aggressive. Only then could they be sure that the tribal spirit was using them as His arm, to fulfil His purposes. And that conviction that they were His arm, tapped an energy that overcame all obstacles.

The idea of an inspired minority being the arm of the Lord keeps on budding out all through history. Sometimes the minority was as small as one. Abram was "but one" when God called him. Again, it was "but one" when the crucified arms conquered on Calvary.

THIS idea of an inspired minority makes a rift in the tribal *Weltanschauung*, which regards the life-force of the God as co-terminous with the tribe. We in England, as well as the sponsors of the twentieth century myth in Germany, are inclined to revert to that outgrown viewpoint, and we need to be reminded that these spiritual forces and activities do not necessarily find the whole tribe or nation its most effective instrument.

That instrument consists of those who are most sensitive and supple to its motion. That minority is the effective arm of its God, even when the tribe is flabby.

All the great leaders of mankind have been aware of this fact. "Give me a hundred men who fear nothing but God, hate nothing but sin, and have the love of Jesus in their hearts, and with them I can move the world." That was John Wesley's way of putting it. There are others.

LET us take heart, and not be too keen on merely increasing our numbers. That only evinces a hidden inferiority and lack of confidence. Our strength is within, and our concern is not to take thought about increasing our visible dimensions, but to keep in living touch with the boundless reserves of spiritual—nay divine—power within us.

Arguing and persuading are never going to root out war. We all know it is wrong. What we want are energetic wills to set in action the almighty spiritual powers we are stifling within us. Then, and then only, can we be an effective arm of the Lord in an armed world.

Let us rejoice and humbly act as an inspired minority called out in our day and generation: a modern "three hundred" who can be a wedge of conquest into the upstart swarms of warmongering profiteers.

Arm of the Lord—awake!

# A War and Peace Anthology—2

Arranged by Vincent Long

The only other article offered for sale in that street that I noticed was a present for any good child, called Jollyboy II Quick-firing Machine-Gun (See How Quickly Pellets are Ejected), and as I walked away I hoped that the jolly boys who played with it would never find themselves caught in the barbed wire with a stream of hot lead disembowelling them. The people who sell that toy might be encouraged to give away with it a few photographs showing what its parent toy can do to a man's guts.

*English Journey* (Gollancz & Heinemann).

**ANATOLE FRANCE**

Wars are both criminal and useless, and they do but sow the seed of endless discord. Yet a man can always attain a little transient popularity by inciting the masses to pursue a policy of violence. To wave a flag and beat a drum is a pretty sure way to office; but the reckoning comes sooner or later, and it is usually a bitter one.

Anatole France, by J. Lewis May.

(John Lane, The Bodley Head.)

War engenders war, and victory defeat. . . . We have destroyed Ialdabaoth, our Tyrant, if in ourselves we have destroyed Ignorance and Fear.

*The Revolt of the Angels.*

The most horrible of wars was followed by a treaty which was not a treaty of peace, but a prolongation of the war. The downfall of Europe is inevitable unless at long last the spirit of reason is imported into its councils.

Anatole France, by J. Lewis May.

(John Lane, The Bodley Head.)

[This last quotation was M. France's comment on the Treaty of Versailles when receiving the Nobel Prize in Stockholm.]

**THOMAS CARLYLE**

What, speaking in quite unofficial language, is the net purport and upshot of war? To my own knowledge, for example, there dwell and toil, in the British village of Dumdrudge, usually some five hundred souls. From these, by certain "Natural Enemies" of the French, there are successively selected, during the French war, say thirty able-bodied men: Dumdrudge, at her own expense, has suckled and nursed them; she has, not without difficulty and sorrow, fed them up to manhood, and even trained them to crafts, so that one can weave, another build, another hammer, and the weakest can stand under thirty stone avoirdupois. Nevertheless, amid much weeping and swearing, they are selected; all dressed in red; and shipped away, at the public charges, some two thousand miles, or say only to the south of Spain; and fed there till wanted. And now to that same spot in the south of Spain are thirty similar French artisans, from a French Dumdrudge, in like manner wending, till at length, after infinite effort, the two parties come into actual juxtaposition; and Thirty stands fronting Thirty, each with a gun in his hand. Straightway the word "Fire" is given; and they blow the souls out of one another; and in place of sixty brisk, useful craftsmen, the world has sixty dead carcasses, which it must bury, and anew shed tears for.

Had these men any quarrel? Busy as the Devil is, not the smallest! They lived far enough apart; were the entirest strangers; nay, in so wide a Universe, there was even, unconsciously, by Commerce, some mutual helpfulness between them. How then? Simpleton! their Governors had fallen out; and, instead of shooting one another, had the cunning to make these poor block-heads shoot. Alas, so is it in Deutschland, and hitherto in all other lands; still as of old, "what devilry soever Kings do, the Greeks must pay the piper!"

In that fiction of the English Smollet, it is true, the final Cessation of War is perhaps prophetically shadowed forth; where the two Natural Enemies, in person, take each a Tobacco-pipe filled with Brimstone, light the same, and smoke in one another's faces, till the weaker gives in; but from such predicted Peace-Era, what blood-filled trenches, and contentious centuries, may still divide us!

*Sartor Resartus.*

**HATE**

My enemy came nigh,  
And I  
Stared fiercely in his face.  
My lips went writhing in a grimace,  
And stern I watched him with a narrow eye.  
Then, as I turned away, my enemy,  
That bitter heart and savage, said to me:  
"Some day, when this is past,  
When all the arrows that we have are cast,  
We may ask one another why we hate,  
And fail to find a story to relate.  
It may seem to us then a mystery  
That we could hate each other."

Thus said he,  
And did not turn away,  
Waiting to hear what I might have to say;  
But I fled quickly, fearing if I stayed  
I might have kissed him as I would a maid.  
James Stephens.

**MONTAIGNE**

I think there is more barbarism in eating a man alive, tearing him to pieces by torments and hells, than in eating him dead.

—Essais.



## "BLEATING" ABOUT PEACE

"When the fighting men of one nation meet the fighting men of another nation in shock of battle... the hearts of men can be exalted and cleansed, and the ends of some healing purpose for humanity can be served."

"There is too much whining and bleating concerning peace nowadays."

★  
Bruno Mussolini on the beauties of bombing? No, the Air Correspondent of the *Fighting Forces*, published in peace-loving Britain.

## NOVEL PEACE SOCIETY

### Constructive Policy for Pacifists and Others

**A**N unusual effort at cooperation between pacifist and other bodies is to be seen in the Joint Peace Committee which has been set up for Oxford and its district. Consisting of representatives of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, League of Nations Union, New Commonwealth, Oxford University Pacifist Association, and the Peace Pledge Union, its object is to coordinate the work of its constituent societies on items of policy on which they are agreed.

#### NO "COLLECTIVE SECURITY"

Where the committee differs from most local peace councils and other bodies of a similar kind is in these items of policy, which are given in the following points from a statement which it has issued. It will be seen that the statement has little in common with the anti-fascist, "collective security" basis of most such organizations:

**General Policy.**—No policy of appeasement will bring lasting peace unless the League of Nations is rebuilt.

An essential preliminary would seem to be the separation of the Covenant from the Treaty of Versailles and it would be helpful if the steps being taken to this end were accelerated.

And since the economic causes of war are amongst the most dangerous, effective reconstruction of the League must be based on economic cooperation. We believe that the Van Zeeland Report provides a foundation for such reconstruction, through the reduction or abolition of tariffs, quotas and financial obstacles to international trade and by collaboration for the stabilization of currencies.

#### COLONIAL ISSUE

The colonial question involves issues of prestige as well as of economics. We see no hope of a permanent solution unless the countries which at present own colonies are prepared to put them under League of Nations Mandates, the object being to build a better colonial system rather than to re-distribute existing imperial power. (Steps should be taken to ensure that the obligations of a mandate—government in the interests of the native population and an open door for the trade of all nations—are fulfilled.)

We suggest that international administration of colonial territories should be developed in the ex-German colonies.

We would also suggest that Germany should be asked to participate in any such development and that the failure of other Powers to accept such a solution should not prevent our own government from proceeding with some such policy.

An essential condition of peace would seem to be that governments should at least decline to increase their normal peace-time exports of oil and other war materials to an aggressor State.

#### TOWARD DISARMAMENT

We regard it as urgent that negotiations for disarmament should be re-opened with a view to the immediate abolition of national air forces and the progressive reduction of the naval and military arms.

All these matters would be handled with better prospects of success if the articles in the Covenant dealing with peaceful change were made effective.

We believe that vigorous and immediate action in these matters is essential and that such action can best be taken by the summoning of a new peace conference after due preparation.

**Refugees.**—Nothing less than an international plan supported by financial grants from governments and including increased facilities for emigration to the British Dominions and Colonies as well as to other suitable areas can meet the case in the long run.

In the meantime we would urge the necessity for more effective action by our government pending such a general settlement.

The Chairman, Sir Ernest J. P. Benn, Bart., at the annual meeting of the United Kingdom Provident Institution on March 8:

"The fitting of gas masks to forty million people, bringing each one of them into intimate personal touch with the most horrible possibilities, might well have tended to reduce their normal peaceful efficiency and usefulness. Our ordinary business work depends upon confidence, and gas masks and confidence hardly go together."

# Organization of the P.P.U.

## A.G.M. WILL HAVE CHOICE OF FOUR SCHEMES

**T**HE second annual general meeting of the Peace Pledge Union will be held in Friends House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1, on April 15 and 16.

Following is a summary of the final detailed agenda, which should be read in conjunction with the time-table also given on this page.

### Saturday, April 15

#### FIRST SESSION

Following the report on *Peace News* a resolution from Bradford *Peace News* Circulation Committee, making recommendations as to the contents of the paper, will be moved.

#### SECOND SESSION

The first hour and a half (6.30—8 p.m.) will be devoted to a general discussion on the general merits of four suggested schemes for organization.

Three of these suggestions have already been announced (see *Peace News*, March 3); briefly, they are:

- That the PPU continue as at present;
- That a Council be elected to form the executive body and the Sponsors the advisory body; and
- That a leader be elected for one year, free to choose his own Sponsors and that he be entrusted with full responsibility for PPU policy.

The fourth suggestion is as follows:

- That the annual meeting should elect yearly a representative Council together with a leader who would be responsible to that Council for the policy of the PPU, while free to choose his own Executive Committee, &c.

At 8 p.m. a vote will be taken.

A resolution to be moved by Buckhurst Hill group would delegate the task of drawing up a constitution to the Sponsors or Council (according to which scheme of organization is adopted), to whom all further resolutions and amendments on the subject would be referred.

Other resolutions will either be referred to the terms of the above resolution, or taken as amendments to the particular scheme which is chosen.

### Sunday, April 16

#### ELECTIONS

Elections will be postponed until the third session in view of the uncertainty of the scheme of organization to be adopted, and consequently what body is to be elected. Nominations for:

- Sponsors either as an executive or advisory body;
- Members to serve on a Central Council;
- Vice-Presidents;
- A leader;

can be sent in at any time up to the AGM or submitted until the close of the second session.

In the event of the Sponsors being asked to continue as an executive body, Aldous

Huxley, Elizabeth Thorneycroft, Storm Jameson, and Henry Carter do not wish their names to go forward for election, owing to their absence abroad or to pressure of other work, though they would allow their names to be associated with the PPU as "Vice-Presidents" or in an advisory capacity. James Hudson has already resigned.

In the event of scheme (c) or (d) being carried Stuart Morris has been nominated as leader for one year.

The Sponsors wish it to be clearly understood that so far as they are concerned they are entirely in the hands of the AGM for re-election or not as the members desire.

#### THIRD SESSION

Resolutions dealing with various subjects will be taken during the discussion on policy.

## Aiding Scientists "On The Run"

**I**N 1933 the Academic Assistance Council was founded to assist "university teachers and other investigators of whatever country who, on grounds of religion, political opinion or race are unable to carry on their work in their own country." In the spring of 1936, realising that this service would be required for more than a temporary emergency, the Council became the Society for the Protection of Science and Learning.

The fundamental work of the Society is its information service. This has developed into an "international employment exchange" for university teachers, and an advisory centre of very great value to the scholars themselves, to the universities, to Government departments and to all who are cooperating in the work of academic assistance.

#### EMERGENCY GRANTS

In addition and as a corollary to this information service, the Society makes emergency grants either for temporary maintenance to enable displaced scholars to accept academic hospitality at a university, or for other forms of constructive assistance such as financing visits of refugees to countries in which there is reasonable prospect of settlement and loans for travelling expenses to an assured post. The Society is at present contributing directly to the support of 45 scholars in the British Isles.

The largest number of displaced scholars come from Germany; since 1933 a total of approximately 1,400 have been obliged to seek refuge in other countries. The annexation of Austria in March, 1938, led to a further displacement of 450 academic workers apart from those who have died or committed suicide. The extension to Italy of "racial" doctrines and anti-semitic practices has led to the dismissal from Italian universities of at least 140 full-time professors

## The Time Table

**F**OLLOWING is the time-table for the PPU annual general meeting:

### SATURDAY, APRIL 15

2 p.m. WELCOME by George Lansbury.

Appointment of Standing Orders Committee.

#### REPORTS by

The Chairman;  
The Treasurer;  
The Group Organizer;  
The Editor of *Peace News*;  
The Hon. Secretary of the Resisters' International.

### 5 p.m. INTERVAL FOR TEA.

Dedication of Dick Sheppard House, 6, Endsleigh Street. Miss Margaret Sheppard, Miss Oliver, Laurence Housman will take part.

### 6.30—10 p.m. DISCUSSION ON ORGANIZATION.

### SUNDAY, APRIL 16

2.30—5 p.m. ELECTIONS.  
DISCUSSION ON POLICY.

The following is the list of attendance at Sponsors' meetings out of a possible 13, except in the case of Maurice Rowntree who was only co-opted later:

George Lansbury	10	Philip Mumford	10
Stuart Morris	13	Middleton Murry	9
John Barclay	11	Max Plowman	9
Harold Bing	8	Arthur Ponsonby	10
Vera Brittain	8	Charles Raven	3
Runham Brown	12	Maurice Rowntree	8
Henry Carter	4	Bertrand Russell	1
Mary Gamble	10	*Alfred Salter	6
Herbert Gray	9	Siegfried Sassoon	0
Laurence Housman	9	*Donald Soper	3
James Hudson	9	Elizabeth	
Aldous Huxley	0	Thorneycroft	2
Storm Jameson	1	Wilfred Wellock	11
George MacLeod	0	Alex Wood	5
Humphrey Moore	11	Arthur Wragg	6

\*In these cases illness has been the chief reason for non-attendance.

## Venue for a Conference

**I**N the photograph below you see Pannal Ash College, near Harrogate, where the Peace Pledge Union will hold its summer conference from July 29 to August 8.

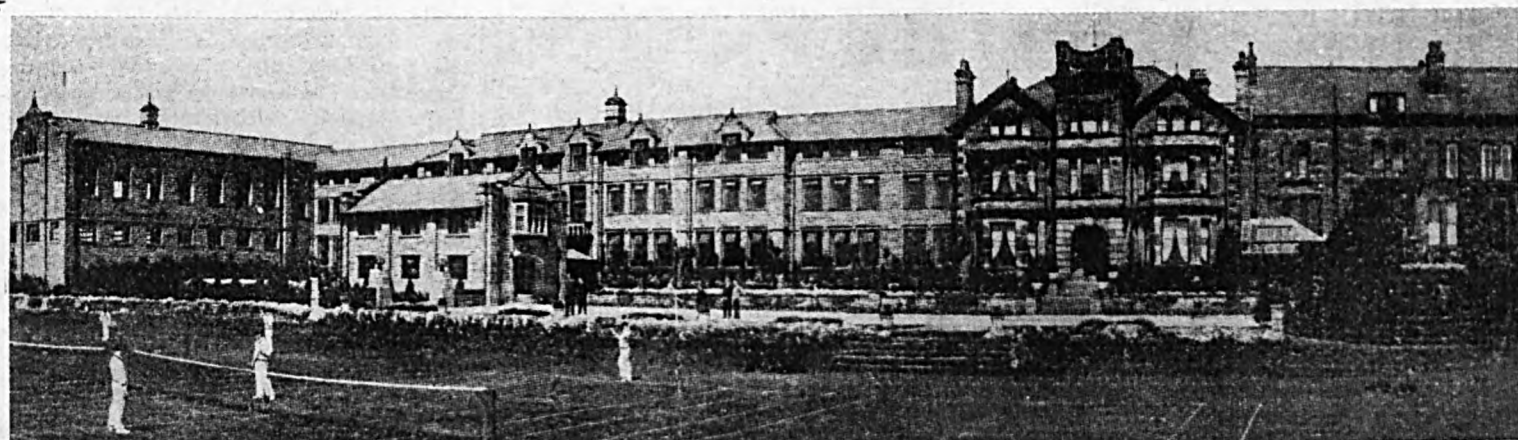
The college has a fine situation, being only half an hour's walk from moors, and amenities include eight tennis courts, an open-air swimming bath (100ft. by 30ft.), and a gymnasium.

The conference this year will be an international one and there will be 250 to 300 places. There will be beds for all as well as room for camping parties.

The cost will be 37s. 6d. per week, or 50s. for the ten days—nine days of conference and a grand finale!

Members of the PPU should lose no time in sending their applications to John Barclay at headquarters.

## Pannal Ash College





## BOOKS

## A Case of Nerves

By PRESTON BENSON

**Madhouse for the Million.** By G. F. Morton. Jarrolds. 8s. 6d.

**M**R. MORTON is a schoolmaster with such a dislike for what he calls "the herd-mind" that he suspects youth hostels as places a trifle wolf-packish. Lone-camping, the nomad's outlook, he feels, is the ideal to be aimed at. Unfortunately, in this wordy book about civilization and war, he ties himself to a well-branded flock: he is one of the collective security sheep.

That, perhaps, explains the woolly beatings that he offers as apperceptions. He confesses that his material has been thrown together in odd moments in odd places and, though he hopes people will see some sort of beauty in his ill-arranged survey, it is an odd way to make a book on a subject which needs ordered explanation and attack.

Mr. Morton's mind seems to me to be very much disordered. He has read too many books and studied current political night fears too assiduously for his own thought to have a chance. Otherwise I doubt if he would suggest, as he does in one passage, that disarmament might be a disaster only less than war itself were it to deprive his new line-up of democratic nations of their arms.

## The Mad Bulls

**I** SUSPECT any book that explains why people think as they do on the score that they are a herd and, moreover, a mechanized herd.

Mr. Morton considers himself a man who thinks for himself—his book's blurb credits him with "a very original analysis" of Germany's "neurosis"—but his denunciation of his fellow-men as the herd is too much like the commonplace taunt of authoritarians contemptuous of democracy for me to trust him. Indeed, his book is full of other men's ideas. He precisely makes no apology for presenting himself as a gramophone whose records of others' opinions merely register an erratic overtone by the recording writer here and there. This schoolmaster protesting against the mechanization of life is as mechanical as that.

Whose idea, I wonder, is he passing on when he remarks, unctiously, that "there would appear to be a strong sadistic strain in the German people"? Whose mind is he echoing when he refers, as the windiest re-armourer would, to "the mad bulls of Europe" who might "run loose among the vineyards of the small peace-loving nations... next to overleap Britain's own insular defences"? These are sentiments that appear to me very much like the popular hysteria he condemns in others.

## Holy War

**"AMERICA and England,"** insists Mr. Morton, in his rough print of a new collective security in which the United

States and the British Empire would gather the small nations into their safeguarding fold, "dare not decline to come together in this Holy War against the new barbarism, the arch enemy of democracy and internationalism." What is that—to use his own words about most of the rest of us—but "just a silly effervescence of fear emotion"?

Sooner or later, I suppose, the author will remember that whatever their political systems, whatever their philosophies and their arms, neither the English, the Americans nor the Germans have any monopoly of God, humanity or lunacy. I am inclined to think that the actions of nations have a psychological as well as an economic explanation but the kind of emotional outbursts that Mr. Morton explodes off the end of his pen suggest that he, too, is suffering a little from that nervous degeneration that we associate with paranoics.

Collective security is his "neurosis" though I hesitate to charge the pleasant and good-looking fellow whose photograph adorns the frontispiece of this book with anything more than a passing affliction. Collective security has practically disappeared from the body politic and it is only a matter of time before that subtle infection works itself out of the odd members in whose minds it still lingers in various forms.

## One Man's Conscience versus A Town's Livelihood

**A Handful of Silver.** By Doreen Wallace. Collins. 8s. 6d.

**H**ERE is the age-old problem of conflicting loyalties. Young Martin Miller, managing director of the now moribund firm of Millers who have for decades manufactured agricultural machinery, has little interest in personal profit. His heart is in the land. He wants to see agriculture regain its proud place in England, he longs to be able to employ the men who are now unemployed.

Then to the market town of Langtoft comes Eldred Wake, prosperous armament manufacturer. To Eldred Wake the well-equipped Miller factory, now working half-time, provides a splendid opportunity for almost unlimited expansion of his business. He is willing to put up the money and is in a mood to be magnanimous—Martin Miller shall remain managing director and the plant shall be turned over entirely to the manufacture of arms.

## Trade in Death

But Martin Miller's conscience is a logical and a literal one. To Martin the

manufacture of armaments is a trade in death. He has no illusions about plausible government spokesmen. He turns the proposition down and goes quietly on his way turning out ploughs for the few remaining farmers.

And all the time unemployment is growing in Langtoft and the unemployed are organizing themselves for a big demonstration. Rumour says that, but for some technical hitch, Millers would be reopening, providing work for all. The men all know Martin Miller—it was he who had fought for their reinstatement when they had come out on strike—they like him and they appeal to him.

Here is the issue before Martin Miller—he can provide work for these men who trust him, but at the cost, as he sees it, of his immortal soul; or he can leave them hungry, distressed, robbed of their self-respect, while at the same time other towns are flourishing on the production of arms.

Can he hold out against the world? Is he justified in sacrificing all these men for the sake of one man's conscience?

## Betrays his Conscience

Throughout this powerful book there runs the theme: is it any use one man standing out against the world? Martin Miller bows to the will of the majority. There is work for everyone in Langtoft, but there is no rest for the soul of the man who betrayed his own conscience.

Not only has Doreen Wallace written a brilliant psychological novel; she has as well presented in readable fiction form the case for pacifism. Because she appears to have no particular axe to grind, she is remarkably convincing.

She has presented the pros and cons of the agricultural problem, unemployment, and pacifism as conflicting elements, and she has had the courage to attempt no solution. Here is the Galsworthy method—she presents a case, pleads tellingly for the defence, prosecutes unmercifully, and leaves you to sit in judgment.

Vera Barnes

## All in a Maze

## CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS

**I**T is essential for a just war that an exceedingly careful examination be made of the justice and the causes of the war and that the reasons of those who on grounds of equity oppose it be listened to. . . . For truth and justice in moral questions are hard of attainment, and so any careless treatment of them easily leads to error, an error which will be inexcusable, especially in a concern of great moment, involving danger and calamity to many, and they our neighbours, too, whom we are bound to love as ourselves. . . .

If a subject is convinced of the injustice of a war, he ought not to serve in it, for no one can authorize the killing of an innocent person. . . . Therefore soldiers also are not excused when they fight in bad faith. Again, it is not lawful to kill innocent citizens at the prince's command. Therefore not aliens either. . . .

Hence flows the corollary that subjects whose conscience is against the justice of a war may not engage in it whether they be right or wrong. This is clear, for "what is not of faith is sin" (Romans, ch. 14).

Francisco de Vitoria. *De Jure Belli*. c. 1532.

The above is an extract from the *Peace and War* anthology "All in a Maze," by Daniel George, with some assistance from Rose Macaulay. It is published by Collins, 6s. net.

## "Men in the Street" and the Arms Estimates

£580,000,000:

## PRICE OF BRITAIN'S BETRAYAL

(Continued from page 5)

people and so dulling their consciences and reducing their resistance to war.

As one of the few societies still opposed to war the PPU should seize every opportunity of arousing public opinion against the stupidity of this rake's progress toward war or bankruptcy.

W. J. P.

★

**I**T is significant that the Government's proposal to spend more than one-and-a-half millions a day on rearmament has no champion to proclaim it from the house-tops. Politicians excuse it as an "unfortunate necessity," the man-in-the-street accepts it in sullen silence. Consciously or unconsciously, each knows the policy of armed force to be futile and dangerous; neither is really caught in the illusion of war, but neither has the imagination to see the way of peace.

★

In the years that followed 1918 the world reached the psychological moment for its greatest reform—the abolition of war. One thing was necessary—the realization that Britain was called to take a place in history quite as significant as that of Israel or Greece.

The tragedy for Britain is that she has not realized that she is a chosen people, chosen to discard the illusory greatness of world domination for the true greatness of humanity's servant, appointed by the events of history to lead the nations to unity and peace.

★

Perhaps her last opportunity came six months ago. It is true that Munich is now a disgrace, but it need not have been. When Mr. Chamberlain returned from Munich the world was hushed in expectation, the voices of the war-mongers were strangely subdued, the tremendous pacifist will of all peoples had found expression and no-one could withstand its power.

For a moment we had a revolutionary pacifist as Prime Minister of Great Britain, and in his action pacifism stood vindicated as practical politics, as the only practical politics. The Western World made him its idol, the power to peace was in his hands, and then . . . then came the fatal word, "Rearm!" His cloak of greatness fell revealing his pathetic weakness in reliance upon the fallacy of armed might. Rearmament was the price of Britain's betrayal, the thwarting of her great destiny as the peace builder.

Is it now too late, or may England yet arise and shake off the bonds of evil tradition to realize her high calling to lead the world to peace?

STANLEY SMITH

## The Struggle for Oil

**C**LEMENCEAU exclaimed: "Une goutte de pétrole nous est aussi précieuse qu'une goutte de sang." ["A drop of petrol is as precious to us as a drop of blood."] This was already realized in 1904 by Lord Fisher of the English Admiralty (who was called the petrol-eum-maniac and with whom the well-known dictum "oil-power is world-power" originates). He also realized that Deterding, of the then still modest Royal Dutch, was the man who could provide England with oil and it was in that year that the Royal Shell was founded, for which the Banking house of Rothschild in Paris provided one-third of the capital. By May, 1914, the English Admiralty possessed immense oilfields.

The influence of oil on the Great War was tremendous—why otherwise the advance of the English in Mesopotamia, the advance of the Turks to Baku, the campaigns of the Germans in Galicia and Rumania?

The Caucasus, richest oilfield of the world, with the famous oilport of Baku, was the great purpose of all military campaigns. The Turkish offensives in the direction of the Caucasus caused Turkey more losses than all other military activities. In order to get this territory in its possession, Germany enfeebled to a fatal degree the strength of its army on other fronts.—*Pax International*, March.

**The Adelphi Group's**  
SECOND PRODUCTION  
*a play every pacifist should see*

## The Builders

by R. H. WARD

Cripplegate Theatre

GOLDEN LANE, E.C.1. (ALDERSGATE STATION)

Sat., April 22nd • 8.30 p.m.

★

## ADMISSION

3/6, 2/4, 1/2 (tax included).  
Reserved seats from Gwen  
Lawrence, 10 Abbey Gdns.,  
London, N.W.8 (MAY 4169).



# CAPT. PHILIP MUMFORD "Speaking Personally" on the future of the PPU, lays emphasis on . . . . .

## Responsibility and Spontaneity

**R**ESPONSIBILITY for the movement must always exist for those who feel it. Is it necessary to allocate it by clauses in a constitution?

The Peace Pledge Union is the largest pacifist organization in the world; it has reached that position in a comparatively few years by basing its existence on a simple pledge for the renunciation of war.

The original aim of its founder was to bring together into one fellowship all those who considered that wholesale murder had no political excuse. Before voting on the future constitution of the Union every member must first have clearly in mind what he considers the function of the movement.

### The Choice

Are we in fact to remain the union of all the pacifists, or ought we to be transformed into some sort of militant vanguard of the pacifist movement? We cannot be both. It is, I think, self-evident that pacifism is meaningless except in the context of democracy, and that the movement must be democratic in the most fundamental sense of the word.

There is, however, no royal road to "government of, for and by the people," and the most superficial study of many recent attempts to impose forms of democracy upon those who are not yet ready for such forms must convince us of the futility and danger of adopting what appear to be democratic formulae before the time is ripe.

**I**N making our choice of the policies to be submitted to us at the annual general meeting we must first take due note of the overwhelmingly large proportion of our members who choose to join in no active group work.

They are pacifists and they are members and if, for various reasons, they are not at the moment active propagandists they nevertheless constitute the body of our movement, and their interests and general attitude must not be overlooked or minimized.

The very fact that the bulk of our members take so little part in the local organizations suggests that our founder was right when he considered that their need was that of a simple fellowship of those trying to spread the pacifist idea rather than any highly-organized activity. In fact, the function of the PPU should be to remain a central focus of pacifist thought which can unite all those who are pacifist from any point of view rather than to reconstitute itself into a more spectacular though by no means necessarily more dynamic body.

For the present, at any rate, I believe we can retain our original spirit more easily by avoiding forms of organized democracy than by adopting them. This argument would be valid at any time but is particularly so at the present moment when the external circumstances in which we find ourselves are overwhelmingly difficult and dangerous.

### Preserving Unity

During such abnormal times the preservation of unity amongst pacifists who differ widely in their outlook is one of the primary considerations and such unity can only be preserved by retaining the simplicity of our appeal. Such simplicity does not need, and indeed would find it hard to survive, once it was surrounded with, the complicated procedure of a so-called democratic constitution.

Unless such a constitution worked at its face value, a most improbable event, the result would not be that the wishes of the majority would prevail but that the movement would stand in danger of being cap-

**T**HE organization of the Peace Pledge Union has been discussed by the last two contributors to our series "Speaking Personally"—Andrew Stewart and Maurice Rowntree.

This week Captain Philip S. Mumford gives his point of view, and he will be followed in our next issue by C. W. Hope-Gill, who will contribute one article on the same subject.

tured by any group of people with a taste for political manoeuvre and a temporary superfluity of spurious energy. To place our movement in such a danger is to gamble with the future.

Let the need of a new constitution express itself unmistakably through the failure of the old before any change is made; any anticipation of such a need may, because it is founded partly on guess-work, lead to costly mistakes.

**MAURICE ROWNTREE**, in his article last week, pleaded for the most democratic form of the choices placed before us. He quoted some Quaker principles and examples to strengthen his argument.

I suggest that any such analogy be accepted with the greatest caution. The Society of Friends is a movement of people who share the motivating philosophy of their lives. The PPU can have no such common denominator.

We have but to remind ourselves that our Sponsors include such differing types as Aldous Huxley and George Lansbury, Bertrand Russell and Henry Carter, to realize that no analogy can be drawn between us and any corporate body, religious or otherwise, who share one allegiance.

### Danger of Losing Support

We have made no small advance since our inception. It is possible to argue that we ought, and could have, made much further progress but the fact to remember at the moment is that the appreciable advance that has been made may easily be lost.

Only too quickly can our following be discouraged or dispersed. The good impression we have made on the general public (of which there are ample signs) may be turned to enmity or misunderstanding and the pacifist cause put back for a generation. It needs no very vivid imagination to realize how quickly this might be the result of an immature democratic scheme.

If, as I believe, the PPU ought to remain the simple union of all pacifists rather than the advance guard of militant pacifism so our executive and headquarters ought to be the central rallying point for all the movement rather than its spearhead.

Such a position, however, postulates a simplicity that is the very antithesis of either a rigid constitution or complicated procedure. Let it be clearly understood that such a headquarters can, by its very nature, and despite the fact that it is devoid of much of the trapping of democracy, be the true reflection of the wishes of the majority of our members and avoids the danger of the capture of the movement by a small but noisy minority.

### Local Initiative

For this reason I prefer Scheme "A" to the more elaborate Scheme "B" which Maurice Rowntree favours. It must be noted that the former places no restriction whatever upon the activities and scope of regional councils and it is up to such councils to be as active as their local situation demands.

It is possible that out of these regional councils something like Scheme "B" will evolve. These councils should aim at being the rallying point of their areas rather

than to estrange some of their groups by partisanship of any particular side issue. We all need to remember that numerical majority does not necessarily give us a free hand.

I do not contend, of course, that any scheme adopted for this year may be applicable for the indefinite future; my remarks are based on the movement as I see it today with its not very large number of active groups and its bulk of loyal but otherwise inactive members and last, by no means least, the grave international crisis through which our movement has to be skilfully guided.

**C**ONSTITUTIONALISM is at best a necessary evil; let us avoid it until, if ever, it becomes absolutely essential for us. As President Masaryk wrote in his book, *The Ideals of Humanity*, "I myself know from experience . . . that each association lives and is energetic as long as it has no bye-laws . . . As soon as the club acquires a constitution and becomes formal and crystallized it merely vegetates and declines."

Within our movement are priests, philosophers, politicians and, above all, ordinary plain people. If you try and bind them together in a constitution their principles will compel them to refuse to be bound.

That they can and do work together has been proved by the present strength of the PPU. Broadly speaking, our methods have worked none too badly and until there is far more evidence of need for a change than I can see I am extremely chary of taking the unknown risk of a new and more elaborate constitution.

## A Plea from Youth

**W**E, of the generation just entering the twenties seem to have lived all our lives clinging to the edge of a precipice in a thick mist. We came into the world at the end of its most horrible experience to date, the glorious "War to end War!", and our inheritance was a civilization rotting from the fumes of mustard gas.

Behind us there lies a great mass of physical and spiritual wreckage, the distorted bodies and crippled minds of the combatants, the too violent rupture of customs and beliefs which were already being dealt with by saner methods; ahead of us there lies a blank which, at the moment looks suspiciously like a pit.

Great political changes have taken place, in our life-time it is true, but while we were still too young to appreciate them, so that to us the Brown House is given almost the same significance as Versailles has in our history books.

**T**HE education of the majority of us has been based on conditions before the War, with the exception that women have been "promoted" to share in it as a matter of course and not a cause for comment. In history we were told about the Bulgarian atrocities but not about the horrors of unemployment; in geography we were told about the exports and imports of various States, but not about the conditions of the work-people producing the exports, and if they were lucky, sharing the imports. We were taught the accepted tenets of one religious creed, but not the fundamental union of all creeds. We were asked to love our country, but very rarely to love humanity.

When, in our teens, we burst into awareness of the sort of society in which we had to live, we also became aware that we were left abruptly rudderless, stripped of whatever comfort we might have expected from

**NOTICE**  
NO MAN, FOR ANY PURPOSE, IS ALLOWED TO EXPLODE BOMBS in a place where they may cause injury and destruction.  
THAT IS THE OPPOSITE OF FREEDOM.

This notice should be erected by order of the civilians of every country at every military aerodrome and wherever people are preparing to bomb each other.

Actually, it is only extracted from the "Daily Herald's" admonition to the Irish Republican Army, March 30, 1939.

### Petition to Home Office from Smethwick

In October last year the Home Office was visited by a deputation from Coventry which was led by the Mayor of that City; the deputation consisted of signatories of the United Christian Petition Movement, which has been formed "to prevent poverty and remove the economic causes of war and to establish a Christian Social Order."

An appeal has since been made to all the Lord Mayors and Mayors throughout the country to cooperate with their clergy for the purpose of organizing similar campaigns. Within a few weeks Mayors of twenty cities responded agreeing to undertake this task.

The first fruits of this appeal will be the presentation during Whitsuntide of the second petition, this time from Smethwick. A meeting will be held in the Blewcoat Room, Caxton Street, London, S.W.1, at 8 p.m., on April 19, to start arrangements for this presentation and for the processions to follow.

### Without Comment

Earl Winterton, Paymaster-General, speaking at Crawley, Sussex, last night, said that they could best win a war by all showing that they were not afraid of death.

"After all," he continued, "it has got to come to us some day, and I can assure you, from personal experience, that it is quite exciting wondering whether the next bullet or bomb will kill you!"

—Daily Telegraph, April, 1939.

the "book-learning" we had acquired at such length. In a panic-stricken rush for re-orientation we flung ourselves into the political group which seemed most likely to relieve us of the responsibility of making the decisions which faced us. A few, perhaps too effectively stunned by their education even to look for the nearest Nazi or Communist headquarters, dropped into an uncomfortable round of pub-crawls and cinemas. But the great tragedy was that the older men and women, who had lived through the agony of Europe, were doing the same thing

**T**HE net result of the last war has been, not the result of a purifying fire, but the result of a broken ceiling: a mine, huddling men together into a crush of fighting organic matter, ruthless in its efforts to escape no matter who perishes.

All we have achieved so far has been the Munich Crisis, and the persecution of the Jews; the earth of Spain torn up, and the people of the Far East polluted by our mortal disease.

And now we are asked to rearm, to train ourselves to become soldiers, and condone the murder, if we do not take an active part in it. We are asked to be ready to repeat on a larger scale the idiocy of the past. Is anything worth that waste?

Why cannot our energy be used in finding means of defeating unemployment, and every other mental-physical disease? Why cannot we build new schools, to be worked on new methods; and new roads which are not death-traps? Why cannot we devote our time and our energy to peace, and happiness, and grow strong in our love for humanity, and not in our search for its destruction?

J. Procter Bridges



## JOHN BARCLAY writes from Room 13: IRISH INSPIRATION

NORTHERN Ireland has its pacifists, and—like those in Scotland and Wales—they are determined to give a pacifist direction to national policy.

I have been spending a few days there in the "wake" of Canon Morris (shure and it's meself that knows!). On Saturday (March 25) Stuart Morris arrived by air from Liverpool to open the conference in Belfast—a conference representing pacifist opinion in Northern Ireland.

During the three days that he was in Belfast he spoke in public eight times and by his tremendous enthusiasm and inspiring speeches has given a lead which will be backed up by PPU groups from Derry to Bangor.

### The Group Secretary's Weekly Notes

When I arrived on the Monday I heard on all sides how magnificent he had been. I was just in time to hear him address a lunch meeting organized by the local LNU, and I am certain that he swept away any doubts as to the constructive case for pacifism. We met again in the evening at a public meeting which lasted till long after 10 and received a good press.

The next morning found me alone to bear the "anti-climax" which follows the departure of an inspiring leader, and I discovered that Irish hospitality and friendship has to be experienced to be believed. I was driven to Londonderry by Professor Finnigan of Magee University and in the evening met the group that has gathered round him there.

It is when I get into close contact with our groups that I know all is well! It is difficult sometimes to answer the critic who

asks, "What do you mean by an active group?"—or who pours contempt on small numbers, and pulls the group secretary to pieces because he or she hadn't answered a letter or kept card-index files!

I used to rise in my seat and burning with indignation try and make the critic see the actual facts. Here you have—I said—ordinary men and women (like yourself) bound by no rules or regulations—spending most of their time at dull "bread-and-butter" jobs—giving their leisure time doing the work for us which is rapidly permeating the country. So well are they working that already—in three years—we have an entirely new spirit at our public meetings. No longer do we meet with an audience new to our pacifist doctrine—but wherever we go we are faced by people who can only say, "You are right, but will it work?"

What has caused this change? Not the Press, and not, in my humble opinion, the speeches and writings of Sponsors—although these have made all else possible—but it has been the day-in, day-out work of the men and women in the 1,000 groups spread all over the country, who, by their sacrifice and zeal, are doing real Peace Service. And here in Londonderry, Belfast and Bangor I found the same spirit to give me the answer again.

We are growing in size, but much more we are growing in power. The power of an inspired rank and file, able and willing to take the strain and responsibility.

Ireland is torn by internal dissension, but I believe that the pacifist has the key to settlement of civil as well as international disputes.

I flew back to Croydon above the clouds (in both senses) inspired by the knowledge that Hitler and Musso, cannot alter the unshakable spirit of a true pacifist democracy. It exists everywhere in men and women, and because they are determined to be free it will capture the world and war will cease.

## Under the Oak Tree IS IT WORTH WHILE?

By Theo Wills

WHETHER life is worth living would seem to be a nice question these days. Many a refugee has decided in the negative and acted accordingly, and those in like circumstances who have not taken their own lives might seem to be the deluded ones.

Between these desperate cases and those of our children at Basque House, there is at least half a world of difference, but even so, one cannot help now and again asking oneself, the state of the world being what it is, how far the life of these children, and the effort to preserve it, is really worth while.

To adoptive parents and others, who have had the children in their homes the question may seem absurd. But perhaps an acceptable answer to it is that wherever the finer human potentialities are enabled to blossom even only a little, there life justifies itself and is worth while.

And so one finds oneself appraising the quality of life nurtured at Basque House. Children are inevitably worth while you say, but it is interesting to look for the human qualities, and a whole gamut of them can be found at Basque House.

Loyalty and affection are the rule but occasionally, a child is betrayed by an unconscious current of thought into a position of rank perversion and ingratitude. In such a moment an exasperated member of the staff was wrung to the exclamation, "If you don't like your lot here, get out!"

There were tears on the part of the child and remorse on the part of the adult. But the wound quickly healed, and the youngster's subsequent behaviour has been an ample acknowledgement of the fault and expiation of it.

This series, "Under the Oak Tree," is a weekly reminder of the Basque Children who are our proteges at Basque House, Langham, Colchester, Essex. All gifts in kind should be sent there.

Donations, in cash or by cheque, should be sent to the Basque Fund, Peace Pledge Union, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1. They will be most gratefully acknowledged.

## An Experiment in East Kent

The following is an account of an experiment carried out by William Hope-Gill in East Kent from December, 1938, to March, 1939.

In December it was decided to carry out an experiment to see what could be done in three months by sending someone to give their whole time for the PPU in a given area.

The region selected was East Kent, the whole of the county East of a line drawn from North to South through and including Sheerness, Sittingbourne, Lenham and Cranbrook to the Sussex border, an area roughly 50 miles from North to South and 50 from East to West.

At the beginning of December there were only four Groups functioning at all actively, and at the end of fifteen weeks there were fourteen, due entirely to the energy, enthusiasm and self-sacrifice of a small nucleus of keen members in each place, who were only waiting for someone with the time to come and get them together and coordinate their efforts. In addition, owing to the long distances between each place and difficulty of transport, the area was divided into two separate Regions, one for the North-East and another for the South-East, and a Regional Committee formed for each, with the object of helping the weaker places and fostering cooperation between all.

### IN EVERY TOWN

Groups now exist in practically every town of any size in East Kent, most of them meeting regularly at least every other week, and making themselves felt in their various localities in different ways.

This has been achieved first and foremost by personal visits to individual signatories in each place, putting them in touch with each other, arranging for a place and time to meet and calling them together. At the inaugural meeting someone has volunteered to act as the local secretary, taken over responsibility for calling future meetings and leading the other generally, and the group has been put on its feet. Individual members have been surprised to find there were so many others in their locality who shared their pacifist convictions, and at the strength and encouragement they have found in meeting with them and working together for our common cause.

This has been done in what is admitted by the inhabitants to be the stickiest part of the country, and it is hoped to attempt a similar experiment elsewhere, as it has been proved to have been amply justified by results.

John Barclay

## The Notice Board

Items must be received by MONDAY.

### Meetings

Kingston and Surbiton group now has a pitch in Kingston Market Place for open-air meetings on Sunday evenings at 7.45 p.m. *Peace News* sellers wanted.

Liverpool.—Peace Group will meet Mondays at 7.30 p.m. in Friends' Meeting House, Hunter Street.

### Poster Parades

Chiswick.—Volunteers wanted for parade on Saturday, April 15, advertising public meeting. Meet at 34 Dukes Avenue, Chiswick, at 6 p.m.

There will be poster parades and *Peace News* selling from Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1, every Saturday at 6.45 p.m.

### "Peace News" Sellers Wanted

Gravesend.—New Road every Friday from 6.30 to 8 p.m. Write Donald Port, 143, Singlewell Road, Gravesend.

Richmond.—April 8 and 15. Write G. D. Piper, 97 Sandycroft Road, Richmond, Surrey.

Sparkhill and Sparkbrook.—Members here wish to maintain six selling posts every Friday (5.30 to 8 p.m.). Write Ronald A. King, 370 Sarehole Road, Hall Green, Birmingham, 28.

Birmingham.—Further volunteers wanted for street selling every Friday (4.30 to 8.30 p.m.) for hour or more. Write Wilfred S. Burt, 22 Hemlock Road, Selly Oak, Birmingham 29.

### Miscellaneous

Volunteers wanted to poster parade or sell "Peace News" on June 3, at open-air meeting, Tonbridge. Also volunteers to help run Peace Book Shop, June 3 to 9. Write: Tonbridge Secretary, 20 Barden Park Road, Tonbridge, Kent.

Learn German quickly.—War Resisters' International highly recommend refugee friend teach German privately, or classes arranged by groups in London area. Also coaching for examination. Necessary to earn. Apply WRI, 11 Abbey Road, Enfield, Middlesex.

Liverpool.—Anyone in this district desiring peace literature, posters, leaflets, &c., is invited to call on Mondays or inquire from M. Muriel Shearer, 44 Oxford Road, Bootle. Liverpool, 20.

Chiswick.—Stewards wanted for public meeting in Chiswick Town Hall on Monday, April 17. Please communicate with Raymond Le Mage, 34 Grosvenor Road, Chiswick, for particulars.

## What the Groups are Doing

GLASGOW Region held its first mass selling of *Peace News* recently. Over thirty people turned out and 180 copies were sold.

Newcomers quite enjoyed their experience and will soon be given an opportunity to repeat it.

The region has also held a fine poster parade, which finished with *Peace News* selling and distribution of leaflets.

Plans are being prepared for an intensive summer campaign of open-air speaking, &c.

### Debate with L.N.U. at Aston

AT Aston the PPU accepted an invitation from the Lozells branch of the League of Nations Union to debate the motion, "That the League policy is the surest approach to peace."

The LNU speaker, Mr. Edwards, spoke of the ideals embodied in the League Covenant, and said it was more logical to use the League, an established organization, than to promote the PPU, which had no organization for solving problems.

Mr. Herbert Whately, for the PPU, agreed with the idea of a League of Nations, but emphasized that the real point of difference was that the League as at present constituted depended in the last

resort on the use of force, i.e., war.

After a lively discussion, a vote resulted in the motion being defeated by twelve votes to eight.

### Alton One-Day School

THE East Hants-West Surrey and West Hampshire Regions combined in a one-day school at Alton. It was the third to be held in Hampshire since last autumn.

An average attendance of 25 at the three sessions included representatives from groups at Alton, Farnham, Farncombe, Haslemere, Portsmouth, Winchester, Southampton, Guildford. R. H. Ward conducted the school, which was on "Non-Violence" as the general subject.

### Hospitality in Ilford

THE Ilford group is represented by two members on the Hospitality Committee organizing a free visit of Germans to this country. They have raised considerable funds for this purpose. They have also secured an advertisement site on Ilford railway station, and are busy canvassing their non-active members.

### First Aid in Manor Park

MEMBERS of the Manor Park group refuse to cooperate in the Govern-

ment's National Service scheme, but instead are inaugurating a first aid class for pacifists. They are also alleviating the suffering of destitute families in their area. They believe they are thereby performing work of real national service.

### Hall Green and Active Service

MR. JOHN S. HOYLAND addressed a meeting in Hall Green recently on "Active Service for Peace." A scheme for active service was outlined, details of which are obtainable from Ken Thomason, 160 Reddings Lane, Birmingham, 11.

### Moseley and King's Heath Meeting

THE Government's National Service scheme was the subject of a meeting organized by the Moseley and King's Heath group. Mr. T. G. Ayre, who presided, explained why National Service was not voluntary, national, or even service. The truly national service, he said, was community service.

Miss Constance Braithwaite spoke of the "tragic wastage" involved in the mass arms scheme which this country had entered upon. It was horrible, she said, to think of the neglect the social reformers had experienced during the past years. The service this country really needed was a real drive at social reform on the basis of a community society.

The chairman of the Birmingham Council, Mr. Herbert Whately, spoke of self-assurance in ARP as an enemy to the peoples of the world—it was one of the worst enemies that communities had to fight.

### Leeds Annual Meeting

THE annual meeting of the Leeds group was preceded last Friday by a short devotional service in St. George's Church, conducted by the Rev. "Don" Robins, who is the president of the group.

Miss Edna Lees reported on the group's activities during the past year—members had made a special study of world events at their monthly meetings.

Leeds members make a point of creating a really friendly atmosphere wherever they go individually, and also aim to spread the principles for which they stand so that those with whom they come in contact can have no doubt as to where they stand.

### Conscription Resolution at Bedford

ON Wednesday of last week a combined meeting of the Bedford, Woburn Sands and Luton groups was held at Luton.

The Rev. C. Leslie Brewer presided and gave a welcome to the visitors, who provided two very capable speakers in Miss Gay (Bedford) and Mr. Bull (Letchworth For). A very animated and useful discussion followed when the following resolution was passed: "That this meeting is concerned at the prospect of conscription and reaffirms its belief in persuasion and unflinching good will as the true way of appeasement in international affairs and states that in its judgment the proposed measures should be resisted."

## PEACE PLEDGE UNION,

6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1

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"Things we want you to know" (April 7th, 1939)

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"No one  
WANTS peace  
more than I do"

GANDHI says:—  
The Jew can refuse to be  
treated as the Outcast of  
the West.

VISCOUNT GREY  
warned us:—  
"GREAT  
ARMAMENTS  
LEAD INEVITABLY  
TO WAR."

YOUR ATTENTION IS DIRECTED TO THE FOLLOWING BOOKS:—

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"NEW VALOUR" by Antoinette Devonshire (A Peace Book for Young People)	2/-	2/2

	Price	Post Free
"LOVE—THE ONE SOLUTION" by Dr. Herbert Gray	3/6	3/9
"THE PLEDGE OF PEACE" by J. Middleton Murry	3/6	3/9
"FALSEHOOD IN WAR TIME" by Lord Ponsonby A Book which should be more widely known.	2/6	2/9



## Forthcoming Events

As this is a free service, we reserve the right to select for publication notices sent in. We nevertheless desire to make it as complete a service as we reasonably can, and therefore urge organizers of events to

1. Send notices to arrive not later than Monday.
2. Include: Date, TOWN, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organizers (and secretary's address)—preferably in that order and style.

### Thursday, April 6

LONDON, E.C.4; 1.10 p.m. 13 Paternoster Row; A. C. Staniland on "Organization and the Individual"; City PPU group.

MOTHERWELL, Scotland; 7.30 p.m. Masonic Hall, Hope Street; Rev. James Barr, MP, Rev. G. H. C. McGregor and Rev. J. D. MacLean on "War—or Peace?"; chairman, Provost Mincher; PPU.

ABERDEEN; 8 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, 98 Crown Street; Mrs. J. Young on "Local Considerations"; PPU.

### Thurs. to Mon., April 6 to 10

BRISTOL, near Sevenoaks; Easter Youth Camp; particulars from Camp Secretary, Youth House, 250 Camden Road, London, N.W.1.

### Monday, April 10

BATH; 11.30 a.m. The Cottage, Lyncombe Vale; house-party and conference; Wessex Pacifist Council.

### Tuesday, April 11

TOWER HILL; 12.30 p.m. Open-air meeting; J. Reece Walker; City PPU group.

COLCHESTER; 7.30 p.m. Moot Hall, High Street; Canon Stuart Morris, Mary Gamble and Marquis of Tavistock (chairman); PPU.

### Thursday, April 13

LONDON, E.C.4; 1.10 p.m. 13 Paternoster Row; Rev. Allan Harling on "The man who doesn't care a damn"; City PPU group.

LONDON, E.C.4; 5.30 p.m. 13 Paternoster Row; Mabel Baker on "Debt and International Relationships"; City PPU group.

### Friday, April 14

LONDON, W.1; 7.30 p.m. Dick Sheppard Memorial Club, Thomas Street, Oxford Street; F. Carlton-Smith on "Pacifism and Vegetarianism"; PPU.

LONDON, S.E.1; 7.45 p.m. Abbey Hotel, Westminster Bridge Road; debate: "War is the only means of defence"; proposer, Mervyn Tolson (Toc H); opposer, Stephen Usherwood (PPU); International Friendship League.

### Monday, April 17

CHISWICK; 8.15 p.m. Town Hall; Canon Stuart Morris, Miss Mary Gamble, Robert King and John Greenwood (chairman); "National Defence"; PPU.

### Tuesday, April 18

TOWER HILL; 12.30 p.m. Open-air Meeting; Alex Miller; City PPU group.

LONDON, N.W.1; 1.20 p.m. Friends' House, Euston Road; A. Fenner Brockway on "How we resisted in 1914 to 1918"; Peace Committee of London Friends.

### Thursday, April 20

LONDON, E.C.4; 1.10 p.m. 13 Paternoster Row; Professor George Catlin on "Democracy in the Modern World"; City PPU group.

LONDON, E.C.4; 5.30 p.m. 13 Paternoster Row; Harold Shipp on "Drama as Peace Propaganda"; City PPU group.

MORECAMBE; 7.30 p.m. Labour Hall; Rev. Ernest Foster; Labour Party and PPU.

### Friday, April 21

LONDON, W.1; 7.30 p.m. Dick Sheppard Memorial Club, Thomas Street, Oxford Street; Reginald Sorensen on "As I See Things"; PPU.

PINNEY; 8 p.m. Vagabonds' Hall, Eastcote Road; James Avery Joyce, Miss Sybil Morrison and Councillor W. C. Kincaid (chairman); PPU.

### Saturday, April 22

LONDON, E.C.1; 8.30 p.m. Cripplegate Theatre, Golden Lane; production of *The Builders*, by R. H. Ward; The Adelphi Group.

## PEACE BY METHOD OF CONFERENCE

MR. WILL HAYDEN, leader of the Highbury, N.5, group of the Peace Pledge Union, wrote to his MP, Miss Thelma Cazelet (East Islington) drawing her attention to the National Petition for a New Peace Conference with its million signatures. Writing on behalf of his group, he asked: "What is your attitude to the policy of peace through conference, and will you press the Premier to try it?"

Miss Cazelet replied that "the Government are at present getting into touch with other peace-loving nations for the express purpose of reviewing the situation and how best to reach a just and amicable settlement of the grievances and disputes."

"I can assure you," she added, "that Mr. Chamberlain's policy will always be to strive for peace by means of discussion, cooperation, and mutual understanding."

Mr. Hayden points out that such contact with MPs is part of the follow-up action to the National Petition which it is hoped that groups and individuals will undertake.

What does **PPU** stand for?

### 3. METHOD

It is sometimes said that pacifism is a mere negation. But though it begins with the refusal to take part in war, it cannot and does not end there. For that reason Aldous Huxley wrote the first official pamphlet of the Peace Pledge Union. What are you going to do about it? explaining its aims and basis. The policy of the Peace Pledge Union arises out of the basis of membership, which is the renunciation of the war method.

It stands instead for the method of non-violent resistance, and it aims at so working out the technique of non-violent resistance that it will set the new spirit free and create the new attitude in the world. The Peace Pledge Union is not a specifically Christian movement. There is no creedal or sectarian condition of membership. But it asserts pacifism as a faith, for in denying the power of material force it appeals to spiritual and moral power. It is a fellowship of men and women who are prepared to study constructive peace-making, to become enthusiastic peace-makers, and to accept such self-discipline as will be necessary if we are to repudiate all our relationships with the destructive method of violence, and prove the redeeming power of love.

The Peace Pledge Union is, therefore, anxious to include within its membership everyone who is ready to renounce war and live instead for peace.

The headquarters are at 6, Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1. The President is George Lansbury, M.P., the Treasurer, Maurice L. Rowntree, the Chairman (and secretary), Canon Stuart Morris, and the Group Organizer, John Barclay.

Give your pledge on a postcard:—  
I renounce war and I will never support or sanction another.  
Sign this, add your address, and send the card to PPU headquarters

### C. E. Hood says

## Competition Is Not Natural

MUCH has been said about the effect upon a child's mind of military toys and games; but little consideration has yet been given to the less obvious ways by which a child may be taught to get the better of another.

It is essential to the right consideration of this subject that there should be no confusion between the ideas of "emulation" and "competition." Emulation is the natural product of healthy growth. Competition is a microbe; and as such, may have its use, at the right time and place. It has no place in the early life of a child. There is no such thing as a "competitive instinct."

### Fear of Isolation

Whether or not we assume that the instinct of self-preservation and the social instinct start level, we know the latter is very strong in the young.

To take some simple examples: A baby will not consent to be separated from its guardian; there is all the terror of annihilation in its awareness of isolation.

When the game of "peek-bo" is first played with a baby, it cannot tolerate any screening of the trusted face either by covering with the hands, or closing of the eyes. (Similarly, a baby will poke at the eyes of a sleeper to re-establish communication.) When it has reached the stage of consenting to the game, still it can bear the isolation only for a very limited time.

When old enough to understand and join in a game of hide and seek, a little child usually comes out deliberately from a hiding-place, rather than wait to be found. Its motive now may have less of the fear of isolation and more of the active desire for companionship.

Games in which players drop out one by one are not at all popular with infants.

They cannot understand being left out themselves; and it distresses them to see another left out.

When little children play with Nature's playthings, shells, pebbles, flowers, &c., these are usually shared happily, until older children teach them to grab and accumulate.

So it seems evident that competition is not a natural instinct; and that it has to be instilled into a child's mind before it can find any pleasure in it. If this is done in early childhood, it will conflict with the child's true social instinct, and seriously retard its growth in the kindly virtues.

When children are allowed to remain uncontaminated by grown-up ideas of competition, they are generally willing, and even anxious, to share both ideas and property.

### One Big Family

Study of child life in the Mzereshi Mission Schools in Central Africa reveals the interesting fact that private property has no meaning for the little ones. Anything given to them is quite naturally shared by the family.

So we may conclude that if a child is brought up to regard the human race as one big family, without barriers of sex, colour, or creed, there is nothing instinctive in its nature to prevent its acceptance of such an order of society.

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Essentially a scientific organization, the Balkan Medical Union also aims at bringing together the intellectuals of different countries so that they may know one another, and come to a mutual respect and understanding, whereby the misunderstandings that engender hate and disastrous struggles between nations may be dispelled.

"Sacked" for Refusing A.R.P. Drill

## Demonstration Outside Factory Causes A Stir

LEAFLETS distributed outside two factories of Messrs. Reeves, artists' colourmen, of London, last Friday evening told employees that one of their number had been dismissed for refusing to take part in air raid drill on grounds of conscience.

The leaflets also reproduced a statement from the Lord Privy Seal's Office early this year declaring that "any action by employers calculated to undermine the essentially voluntary character of the scheme for National Service would be entirely inconsistent with the policy of the Government and with the explicit assurances given by Sir John Anderson in the House of Commons."

### ANDERSON'S ASSURANCE

A further quotation was from a letter from Sir John Anderson's private secretary to Canon Stuart Morris, chairman of the Peace Pledge Union (who signed the leaflet), emphasizing that Sir John "deprecates any exercise of pressure by employers." Mr. A. E. Bayntun, the employee who was "sacked" after twelve years' service, is leader of the Edmonton group of the Peace Pledge Union.

Police were present outside both factories while the leaflets were distributed and copies of *Peace News* sold, and a sensation was caused.

The point that "such possibilities as Mr. Bayntun's action are clearly envisaged and provided for by the Government, who obviously have weighed the issue of the alleged imperilling of safety" was made by Mr. H. Granville Hawkes, a Tottenham member of the PPU in a letter to the *Tottenham Herald*.

### Refused to pay A.R.P. Rate

BECAUSE he refused to pay rates for ARP services Mr. C. J. Marks, of Cheltenham, appeared in court last week. Making an order that Mr. Marks should pay the amount (1s. 10d.) together with costs, the chairman said it was no business of the Bench to say what services the rates were for.

Mr. Marks said afterward, "what protection am I offered? There is nothing to prevent my shop being blown up. I don't ask for protection and am not given it, and that is why I object to paying."

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## A Pacifist Commentary

# Dangerous Pledge to Poland :: What "Collective Security" Really Means :: "Surplus" Jews

THE pledge given to Poland last week represents a new departure in British foreign policy, for under its terms the lives of British people are virtually committed to the care of the Polish Government.

If that government believes that the independence of its country is clearly threatened and resists by force of arms, then Britain is committed to war.

Though it may be arguable what constitutes a "clear" threat, and though *The Times* may have attempted to draw a distinction between the "independence" and the "integrity" of Poland, the pledge remains no less objectionable.

For if loopholes have been left in order that fulfilment of the pledge may be avoided, then it has all the disadvantages of a doubtful promise which can only confuse the European situation still further; if the points mentioned are not such loopholes, then the people of this country have lost whatever democratic control they have hitherto had over their being committed to war.

An official Foreign Office statement has pointed out that the British Government "do not seek in any way to influence the Polish Government in the conduct of their relations with the German Government"—thus leaving the decision to Poland.

### Aid to Negotiation

THE pledge, it is true, only operates during the period of consultation with other governments, but the fact of its being made shows how fateful that period is.

It has been stated that the guarantee would make Polish-German discussions possible; but if the idea behind the pledge is that Germany should be threatened with "overwhelming force," is it likely that negotiations in such circumstances would produce a more just settlement than has been the case where Germany herself has been the "bargainer" with the greater show of might?

Further developments may be expected after the visit of Colonel Beck, Polish Foreign Secretary, to London this week. It is to be hoped that the occasion will not be made one for "selling" Poland to the British public as a democracy to be defended. For Poland's present form of Government is only superficially democratic—and even then only of recent acquisition—and she has suppressed her Jewish and Ukrainian minorities.

The Polish crisis has brought one desirable thing—a clarification of what is meant by collective security. Mr. Vernon Bartlett declared in the *News Chronicle* last Friday that "the greatest guarantee of peace would be to convince Germany that she could not move either against the West or the East without being attacked in the rear."

Gone is the suggestion that "collective security" is a kind of defensive resistance to aggression; it is now seen to be a promise that we ourselves will commit aggression in certain circumstances though we have not ourselves been attacked.

### "Surplus" Jews

ONE of the problems which Colonel Beck was to discuss in London was that of Poland's "surplus" Jews. It will be the most cynical example of power-politics imaginable if the British Government assists in the settlement of these people in other lands, and does not show a similar interest in the fate of Germany's "surplus" Jews, at whose treatment so much horror has been expressed.

The problem in the case of Germany has become even bigger, for the annexation of Bohemia, Moravia, Slovakia and Carpatho-Ukraine has brought another 250,000 Jews within the borders of the Reich.

The refugees in England at the end of February totalled 14,649 over the age of eighteen, and 4,404 children. Of the adults over 5,000 had arrived between November 1, 1938, and February 28, 1939; suggestions that we are being "flooded" by all the refugees from Europe are exaggerations.

### Will "Volunteers" Leave Spain?

AN indication of the extent to which Spain has been reduced to the status of a mere pawn in other Powers'

manœuvres is likely to be made clear very soon.

With the collapse of Republican resistance excuses for the presence of foreign "volunteers" no longer exist. It will accordingly be significant if Italy, for instance, shows no signs of withdrawing her troops from the Peninsula.

The Pope's message to General Franco, giving "sincere thanks with your Excellency for Spain's desired Catholic victory," must, incidentally, have caused some disappointment to those who had looked for a continuation of what they took to be the anti-fascist attitude of the late Pope.

### Mediterranean Bargains

SIGNS are not wanting that the "firm" broadcast speech by the French Premier last week was designed as much for internal consumption as for "warning" Mussolini.

Whatever may be said publicly by the rulers of France or Italy may merely be a cover for secret discussions concerning the latter's claims. It is not impossible that these have already begun, and visits to Berlin and Rome recently of two friends of the French Foreign Minister have given rise to rumours to this effect.

Unfortunately the history of Italo-French relations over Tunisia, for instance, does not give much ground for hope that any settlement finally reached will be designed to secure justice as against a "deal" between rival imperialisms. Tunisia has long been coveted by Italy, to whom it would be of great strategic value, and the following extract from an article by the Paris correspondent of *The Times* gives the recent history of her claims to it:

"In January, 1935, M. Laval, then French Foreign Minister, journeyed to Rome and signed with the Duce a French-Italian agreement preceded by an exchange of 'secret letters.' France, it appears, recognized the preponderance of Italian economic interest in Abyssinia, promised, according to some, her 'friendly offices' or, according to others, her 'disinterestedness' should conflict over Abyssinia arise between Italy and Great Britain, granted to Italy a few territorial concessions, and in exchange secured the renunciation of former Italian demands in Tunisia."

"At last, it seemed, the vexatious dispute was in process of being settled. But the wheel has come full circle. France, with influence diminished in Central Europe since September, tends now to concentrate her energies on her empire."

"Italy, too, with a new Germanic empire on her northern frontier in place of the old Dual Monarchy, must henceforth seek a mainly imperial destiny. In that setting, a near reproduction of the setting of 1881, the question of Tunisia has all its first acuity."

### Back to 1914

THE impression left by the foreign affairs debate in the House of Commons on Monday night was one of a growing war psychosis. The fact that Mr. Churchill supported Mr. Chamberlain was of ominous significance.

While protesting that it has no intention of encircling Germany, the Government seems to be preparing that encirclement, and the Opposition showed on Monday that it was in agreement. So hypnotized had most Members become by the necessity, as they saw it, of preventing a further German aggression by threatening Germany with dire consequences if it takes place, that the underlying causes seemed to have been forgotten.

Mr. Greenwood described the policy of "collective security" as one of mutual aid. What was needed, he said, was that everyone in the same street should stand together to aid any neighbour in his hour of trial and adversity. An admirable sentiment, but hardly one to be identified with a threat to blow German men and women to pieces if their ruler misbehaves.

The House, said Mr. Maxton, was very much what it must have been in the days preceding August, 1914; and the kind of struggle which would result from the speeches made in the House on Monday night, would be the same as that of 1914 to 1918.

Mr. Maxton did well to remind his hearers that the basic problem today was not the problem of frontiers but the problem of poverty. Part of the solution of that problem lay along the lines of trying to develop a new world diplomacy which must give a chance to the people of all nations.

It would be well if the Labour Party would address itself to applying its belief in aiding our neighbours in their hour of trial and adversity to this sphere. Had the policy been applied to Republican Germany in its hour of trial and adversity we should not now be in such a sorry pass.

### What America Thinks

THOSE sections of the British Press which support the policy of "collective security" have for long managed to give the impression that the USA is prepared to back wholeheartedly the building of a "front" against aggression.

What the British public is not told is that there is still in America strong opposition to a policy which may drag that country into war. In some cases that opposition has been powerful enough to embarrass the Administration. The proposal to fortify the island of Guam as a naval base was, for instance, rejected by the House of Representatives, though this was given nothing like the same amount of publicity as the original proposal had received on this side of the Atlantic.

Another index of the way Americans are thinking is the widespread support being given to the Ludlow amendment to the constitution which would make it illegal for the USA to participate in any war outside the Western Hemisphere until popular approval by referendum had been obtained.

Early last year this proposal was turned down by the House of Representatives by a narrow margin, following strong pressure from the President. Now it has been introduced into the Senate—though the British press hardly seems to have noticed it.

Some idea of the strength of the opinion behind it may be gained from the results of a national canvass by the American Institute of Public Opinion on the question whether the people should be consulted before men could be drafted overseas. Sixty-one percent voted in favour, and 39 percent against the taking of such a vote. And still it is suggested that Mr. Roosevelt speaks for most Americans!

### Still "All Quiet"?

In the parlour of the Lord Mayor of Cardiff is a sealed gilt metal cylinder containing a copy of the film *All Quiet on the Western Front*. It was given to the city on condition that it should be unsealed and the film shown publicly if at any time there was a threat of war.

It still remains sealed.

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